

The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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A CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
for Teachers and Students of History

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No. 1

Medieval Universities

*'Good Queen Bess'
Excommunicated*

Jesuits at Trent

*Papal Embassy to
Ireland - 1542*

The Priority of History

Twenty Book Reviews

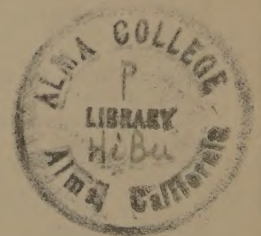
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Medieval Universities

William J. McGucken, S. J., Ph. D.

St. Louis University

CARDINAL NEWMAN in *The Office and Work of Universities* says: "If I were asked to describe as briefly and popularly as I could, what a University was, I should draw my answer from its ancient designation of a *Studium Generale*, or 'School of University Learning'." That is a common misconception of the term university, a misconception, it is true, that Newman corrects in part later on in the same essay. But it is only one of many misconceptions that otherwise well-informed people have of the medieval university. A medieval university was not necessarily a place where everything was taught. The word *universitas* in medieval Latin meant a corporation, a guild. The term *universitas magistrorum et scholarium* should be translated "The corporation or guild or association of masters and students." True, the term *universitas* (university) came to be applied to the corporate entity that we now speak of as a university, but that was relatively late in the thirteenth century. *Studium Generale* was the designation commonly employed in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century; this did not mean a school of universal learning, but only a school which was open to all from any part of Christendom, in contradistinction to a *studium particulare*, a school which was intended only for a local group of students, a group of monks of a particular monastery or ecclesiastical students attached to a certain diocese. Not everything was taught at institutions designated as *Studia Generalia*; for example, Bologna did not teach theology until 1352 and Paris did not have a faculty of Civil Law until 1271 nor a faculty of Medicine until 1274.

Another misconception of the medieval university is that it was an institution founded by the Pope for the

education of clerical students. Some universities, it is true, were founded by the Pope; all of them enjoyed sooner or later papal privileges; but the earlier universities were not founded at all; they represent a spontaneous growth. The students at the medieval university were designated clerics, it is true. But it would be quite absurd to picture the medieval university as a glorified seminary. Seminaries were a creation of the Council of Trent and, as we shall see, the conduct of the medieval university student was often enough far from the decorum one ordinarily associates with the life of a seminarian. Indeed, the student body of a medieval university, despite its clerical character, was much closer akin in external behavior to the student body of a great modern university than it is to the student body of a clerical seminary.

Number of Universities

1200 to 1500 is the period of the rise and spread of the university system throughout the Western world. At the dawn of the thirteenth century, there were functioning six *sudia generalia*, Salerno, Paris, Bologna, Reggio, Montpellier, and Oxford. A hundred years later, eight more had been founded in Italy, five in Spain and Portugal, three in France and one—Cambridge—in England. With the passing of another hundred years twenty-two more were added of which five were in Germany. Before the Protestant Reformation, the number of universities in Christendom had increased to a number variously estimated from seventy-seven to eighty-one.

It is difficult for us in the twentieth century to draw with precision the picture of the medieval university. Yet the modern university despite its striking contrast

with Paris and Bologna is the direct heir of its medieval prototype. In the days of its origin the medieval university had no libraries; it did not possess laboratories; there was no endowment; there were not even college buildings. It never would have secured approval from the North Central Association, still less could it be placed on the approved list of the Association of American Universities. Yet as Haskins remarks: "great as these differences are, the fact remains that the university of the twentieth century is the lineal descendant of medieval Paris and Bologna. They are the rock whence we were hewn, the hole of the pit whence we were dugged. The fundamental organization is the same, the historic continuity is unbroken. They created the university tradition of the modern world, that common tradition which belongs to all our institutions of higher learning, the newest as well as the oldest and which all college and university men (and women) should know and cherish." Paris and Bologna and the other medieval universities did have a possession that was beyond price; they had great teachers; otherwise they would never have come into being. In Pasquier's splendid phrase about Paris it was *batie en hommes*; built on men, men like Abelard and William of Champeaux, Irnerius and Gratian, Hugh of St. Victor and John of Salisbury, all that shining galaxy of men, obsessed with a zeal for knowledge, a veritable *kadethes sciendi*.

The Twelfth Century Renaissance

We cannot understand the glory of the thirteenth century unless we recognize the debt it owes to the twelfth century, the century of the true renaissance, a renaissance that outshone in glory and worth the fifteenth century Renaissance. It was this century, the twelfth, that witnessed the beginning of the two greatest of the *sudiat generalia*, Paris and Bologna. Merely to make an inventory of the contributions made during this century to the seven liberal arts, the pursuit of which had never been entirely abandoned even during the darkest night of barbarism, would be to recognize in some small measure the height and depth of the intellectual treasure harvested by the men of this century. Never had a generation found itself so suddenly in the possession of such a wealth of science, of thought, of culture. There were the humanists like Hugh of St. Victor and John of Salisbury and Bernard of Chartres with their genuine Christian humanism, not to forget him, that *vehementissimus Christi amator*, St. Bernard of Clairvaux with his exquisite *Jesu dulcis memoria*. There were the great translators who made known to Christendom so tirelessly the treasures of the Greek mind, Adelard of Bath, Gundisalvi, Gerard of Cremona, the translators of Toledo who worked so incessantly under the gracious patronage of the great Archbishop Raymond of Pennafort. There was a tremendous interest in dialectics, an interest so overpowering that it led to the neglect of humanistic studies and drew from Peter de Blois the bitter complaint that men in his day (at the close of the twelfth century) were being permitted to engage in abstruse discussion before they had undergone the elementary disciplines of the humanities; to engage prematurely in lofty physical, mathematical or philosophical speculations; this, he complained, is to go counter to experience and the authority of the

ancients. *De tenebris ignorantiae ad lumen scientiae non ascenditur, nisi antiquorum scripta propensiore studio relegantur.* (P. L. 207, 313.)

Influence of Abelard

Abelard was the first of the new order, the scholar for scholarship's sake, "a scholar with the wit of a jongleur, and the graces of a grand seigneur." His tragic story related in his own *Historia calamitatum* cannot be recounted here. Yet his contribution to the direction of those forces that created what was to be the University of Paris cannot be passed over. To regard him as the founder of scholasticism is to forget John Scot Eriugena and St. Anselm. Though not a creative mind, yet he was a vigorous though not too orthodox dialectician, a professor that all admired, bold, original, striking, highly critical of others, not unappreciative of his own gifts, fresh and stimulating and "able to move to laughter the minds of men." His work was still rather a new method than new thought. His *Sic et Non* wherein are gathered together opinions apparently contradictory in a spirit of impish mischief were not intended to undermine the principal of authority in the Church. And it is from this method of Abelard that will come the Book of Sentences of Peter of Lombard and the method of the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas. It was the vigorous daring and the sparkling mordant wit of this Abelard, an "Alcibiades who reasoned like Plato and a philosopher who was more than half a troubadour" that drew men in numbers to Paris and made the place famous for its schools.

The Richness of the Twelfth Century

Abelard died in 1140; his stormy life is bounded by what is perhaps the greatest half-century of the Middle Ages. The thirteenth century is the full harvesting, the richer in accomplishments, yet, as Miss Helen Waddell remarks, the Paris of St. Thomas Aquinas and Saint Bonaventure has lost something of the first madness,

The divine intoxication

Of the first league out from land.

That first league, that first half of the twelfth century: Abelard lecturing in Paris; Peter the Venerable traveling in Spain and commissioning a translation of the Koran; Adelard of Bath in Syria and Egypt writing his book on natural philosophy and dedicating it to the Bishop of Syracuse; Hermann of Dalmatia translating the Planisphere of Ptolemy and dedicating it to Thierry of Chartres. . . . Thierry lecturing on the new Aristotle, just translated from the Arabic; Paris for the first time becomes the *patria* of the mind, the rival in men's heart of Rome.

Thus it was that the fame of great teachers that taught in the schools of Notre Dame in the Ile de la Cité or at St. Victor or Ste. Geneviève on the left bank attracted crowds of earnest souls first from France then from all Europe and eventually gave justification to the boast of Paris that it was *Parrens Scientiarum*, the mother of all sciences. At the close of the twelfth century, most of the teaching was given in the Ile de la Cité, about Notre Dame, that isle that a contemporary Guido de Bazoches describes in perfervid prose. "In hac insula regale sibi solium ab antiquo filosofia collocavit. . . . In hac insula perpetuam sibi mansionem septem pepigere

(Please turn to Page Fourteen)

Queen Elizabeth Excommunicated

Peter M. Dunne, S. J., Ph. D.

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MICHAEL GHISLIERI, Pope St. Pius V, ruled the Church from 1566 to 1572. He was canonized by Celestine XI in 1712. Pius is best known for having organized the famous expedition against the Turks in 1571 led by Don Juan of Austria, which led to the Christian victory of Lepanto. But the previous year Pius had excommunicated Elizabeth, Queen of England from 1558 to 1603. Elizabeth had, against her coronation oath, promising to protect the Church, gradually set Catholicism aside, removed the Catholic bishops from their sees, ordered a non-Catholic service, forbade the Catholic Mass, demanded an oath recognizing her as the supreme governor of the realm in matters temporal and spiritual (the famous "oath of supremacy") and fined and imprisoned those who would not obey these laws. In other words, Queen Elizabeth decided to re-introduce a church regime divorced from Rome. By far the greater number of the English clergy, formerly Catholic, conformed, and there was punishment of those who did not. Elizabeth persecuted the Church. The persecution varied in severity, but relative to the times, it was at first a mild persecution, and there were no executions, but it was succeeding in its gradual elimination of the old Faith. This went on for twelve years and these were the reasons why Pope Pius excommunicated the Queen. The fulmination was ill-timed, however. The bull of excommunication was to have been promulgated concurrently with the beginning of the rising of the Catholics of the north, giving strength to the risen armies and, from the point of view of the Church, legitimatizing the rebellion. But the latter was a miserable failure. By the end of 1569 it was all over and hundreds had been executed as rebels. It was only months later, in 1570, that the excommunication was promulgated in England.

It will be very profitable to examine and reflect upon this document, the famous "Bull of Excommunication" for it had very serious and far-reaching results on the lot of Catholics then living in Britain and on the attitude of non-Catholic England towards the papacy and the Catholic Church.

The bull was dated from Rome February 25, 1570. After an introduction and some preliminaries in which the crimes of Elizabeth against the Church are enumerated and the legitimacy of her title to the throne indirectly stated, we read the following:¹ "Inspired, therefore, by the authority of Him who has wished to place us, though unequal to such a burden, on this supreme throne of justice, with the plenitude of apostolic

authority we declare the aforesaid Elizabeth a heretic and a promoter of heretics and those who have adhered to her in the aforesaid policies to have incurred the sentence of anathema and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. Moreover (we declare her), deprived of the pretended right of the aforesaid kingdom and from any and every dominion, dignity and privilege thereof. Likewise (we declare), all the nobles, subjects and peoples of that kingdom and all others who in any way are under oath to it perpetually absolved from such an oath and from absolutely all duties of jurisdiction, fidelity and obedience, as we do now absolve them from the authority of the present rulers, and we deprive that same Elizabeth from the pretended right of the kingdom and from all other aforesaid rights and we command and we forbid each and every noble, subject, person and any other above-mentioned that they do not dare to obey her, or her advices, orders and laws. He who shall act otherwise, him we bind under the same sentence of anathema." Orders are now given that copies of the above be everywhere publicly promulgated.

Import of the "Bull of Excommunication"

Now here is an historical document, a source of history. In order to understand the seriousness of its import we do not have to read what secondary works have said about it; all we have to do is to ponder and reflect dispassionately upon the document itself. Elizabeth was the *de facto*, and by all the recognized rights of the modern world, the *de jure* queen of England. She had reigned now with the practically universal consent and with the increasing esteem of her own country for twelve years. She was recognized by all the states of Europe. In an age of a growing national spirit her government was in the process of unifying and strengthening the nation; indeed, history shows this was the beginning of England's greatness. Elizabeth was in the process of cementing a tremendous loyalty to her person, of all including even the persecuted Catholics. A disputed crown would have induced civil war, dreaded since the War of the Roses. Under these conditions, Pope Pius, applying medieval principles which the English government and probably the majority of the English people had by now rejected, officially proclaimed she was no legitimate queen, and not only dissolved subjects from their oath of obedience, but, under pain of excommunication, commanded them not to obey, indeed to rise and cast her forth. It thereby made of every Catholic a potential rebel, made Catholicism treasonable before the State, and rendered it easy and logical, according to the spirit of modern nationalism, to suspect Catholics of treason.

After-Effects

Bearing these things in mind, the effects which followed cannot surprise us: the lasting enmity of Elizabeth and her government, who could think now that self-defense demanded the extermination of Catholicism; the fury of all non-Catholic Englishmen; the creation of

¹ The document may be found in the *Bullarium Privilegiorum ac Diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum Amplissima Collectio*, tomo IV, pars III, pp. 98 and 99. (Romae, MDCCXLVI, Typis et Sumptibus Hieronymi Mainardi.) John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., gives a condensed translation of it in *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 149ff. (London, Longmans Green & Co., 1920). Arnold Oskar Meyer, oddly enough, does not include this document among the many which he gives in the appendix of his *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, tr. Rev. J. R. McKee (London, Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1916)

a cruel dilemma for Catholic Englishmen as between their country and their faith; the increasing hardness of their lot with severe persecution, the death penalty now beginning; the formal execution for treason of Catholics who would not according to the law take the oath of supremacy in favor of the Queen.

The Jesuit historian, the late Father John Hungerford Pollen, who with Arnold Oskar Meyer has done the most specialized work on this phase of English history, is exceedingly careful never to overstate the mistakes of the papacy. Nevertheless, Pollen makes the following statements concerning this bull of excommunication: "Its results, however, were only in part successful, and many have been the differences of opinion as to whether it was justified or not . . . ; or, again, whether the partial successes won balanced the great losses which cannot be denied." "By this time (August, 1570) it seemed clear that the bull would lead, not to Elizabeth's fall, but rather to the notable injury of Catholics." And Pollen quoted Blessed Edmund Campion who went to Rome in 1573: "I said (to the Cardinal of Santa Cecilia) it procured much severity in England, and the heavy hand of her Majesty against the Catholics."² It (the bull) had, in fact, already been disregarded both by Spain and France, and the English Catholics concluded that what the great powers might do, they also were allowed. A good case could certainly be made out for withdrawing the bull."

The action of Pope Pius, however, did good in one direction: it drew the needed well-defined line of demarcation between Anglicanism and Catholicism, which, while it induced unfortunately the weak to fall away, clarified the minds and positions of the strong and united them into one vigorous body of opposition to heresy, which body soon afterwards formed the nucleus of the Counter-Reformation in England and which added so fine a page of moral luster to the annals of Catholicism.

A Dilemma for the Catholics

What were Catholics now to do. They were forbidden by their spiritual leader to acknowledge their queen as their national leader. Their lot was indeed hard and many were the groanings of conscience and the hair-splitting distinctions which went on in many minds. Those who obeyed the bull began now to be executed as traitors to their country. Barbarously such were condemned to be "hung, drawn and quartered." The rope that hanged them was cut and while they were still breathing and often conscious they were disemboweled (their intestines being burned before their eyes), and finally their body was cut into parts.

Perhaps the clearest indication that the excommunication was regarded as a mistake even in Rome and by Pope Gregory XIII, successor to Pius, was the solution which was officially offered to the English Catholics ten years later, when in 1580 the Jesuits Robert Persons and Edmund Campion were sent by Gregory to carry the Counter-Reformation to England. In order to allow a Catholic to be a good Catholic, and obedient to the Pope without appearing treasonable to the excommunicated queen, the import of the bull was altered, this at the request of the two Jesuits. Pope Gregory made an official

statement in writing that his predecessor's document did not bind Catholics to disobey the queen and rise against her; it bound only the queen to excommunication. The modification for Catholics was to be only temporary, however, until such time as this part of the bull could be actually enforced, that is until Elizabeth could actually be deposed. The reading of this temporary release for Catholics as found in the faculties of Persons and Campion is as follows: "The bull always binds Elizabeth and the heretics, but, while things remain as they are, in no way binds the Catholics, except when public execution of the said bull shall become possible."³ That is, until the king of Spain or some other Catholic prince could be induced to send an army into England and dethrone Elizabeth.

This release was indeed an aid to Catholics. The imprisoned, the tortured and those about to be executed could now aver what the earlier martyrs would not admit, that they accepted Elizabeth as their lawful queen. But on the side of the Government matters became worse. It was infuriated and so were individual non-Catholic Englishmen. So the queen was queen only on sufferance; so soon as they could the Catholics would dethrone her. Prime Minister Cecil, raised to the peerage by Elizabeth as Lord Burleigh, got hold of this piece of paper and was delighted to use it to strengthen his case against the priests, and from now on "everyone seized on it as evidence of Rome's double dealing and of treasonable intentions in the mission priests."⁴ The cry of "traitor" followed every priest on his way to prison and to the gallows. The same is still done by modern English historians. Bishop Mandell Creighton of the Church of England, who is not a bigot, reflects the modern British attitude in an article of fifty years ago in the *English Historical Review*: "The object of the papal court was to allow the English Romanists to obtain all the advantages of seeming to be loyal to Elizabeth while at the same time they were to put her to death if possible, and to rise against her if there was a reasonable chance of success. It is small wonder if the English government waged war against those who were charged with the dissemination of such teaching."⁵

Plots Against the Queen; the Armada

After the excommunication of 1570 the continued action of Pius V and of Gregory XIII concerning Elizabeth was of a consistent pattern and the actions and efforts of the English exiles in Spain and in Rome were of the same piece. There were in Catholic circles a dozen plots fomented against Elizabeth on the Continent and half a dozen plans or attempts at invasion and deposition. Pius V constantly urging Philip II of Spain to invade England and dethrone Elizabeth, subsidized the beginnings of a plan whereby Don Juan of Austria, the victor of Lepanto, was to launch an invasion from the Low Countries and the Catholics in England were to rise and assure the victory of Spanish arms. In 1580, the very year he was sending Persons and Campion to England, Gregory XIII was subsidizing men and ships for Ireland to aid in the rebellion against the English government. Thus the two Jesuits

(Please turn to Page Sixteen)

³ Pollen, *op. cit.*, p. 293; Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 138

⁴ Meyer, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *English Historical Review*, VII (Jan., 1892), p. 82

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 142 and 155

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EDITORIALS

Due to the sudden and critical illness of the editor, Reverend Raymond Corrigan, S.J., the present issue of "The Historical Bulletin" has had to go to press without his able direction. With our readers, the staff sincerely hopes that he will be at his desk for the next issue.

The Priority of History

The catastrophe of war is upon us, reaching deep into our lives with asking hands, causing many and sometimes profound changes in our manner of living. While it has slowed the pace of our motorized and mechanized existence, at the same time it has transformed our academic halls into dynamos of feverish activity. Speed-up courses prevail everywhere, and up and down the land there is a tendency to stress practical subjects, to concentrate on the technical. *Silent leges inter arma* can well be paraphrased: *Silent litterae inter arma*. The pipes of Virgil and Theocritus, scarcely heard above the raucous din of our industrial civilization, are drowned utterly in the drone of warplanes and the crash of artillery.

Science and mathematics especially are being emphasized in the struggle to meet war demands. But they are not alone in their claim to priority. Beside them stands the history department, its importance also heightened by the glare of war. And one might say that history deserves even higher priority for history is necessary not only for professionals but for all university students. The molders of public opinion in these times need a knowledge of history and need it badly, and the university students of today will contribute much to the molding of public opinion in the very near future. We are in the midst of war and are devoutly hoping for peace but we can understand neither the problems of war nor the conditions requisite for peace without an intelligent grasp of history. This understanding unfortunately is not too often found even among college graduates. We can smile at Miss Repplier's freshman who was conditioned for knowing literally nothing about the Reformation, but only recently we were amazed to learn that a Harvard A.B. in philosophy had gone through his four years with never a course in history! Not only is that unfortunate; it is decidedly discouraging.

The Need of History

The importance of history today is high-lighted by an article by Dr. Renner which caused quite a commotion when it appeared recently in one of our national weeklies. Dr. Renner is a professor of Geography at Teachers' College, Columbia University. His article deals with a peace plan which leaves one fairly gasping. It is not our intention to dissect that plan here, (Mr. Lippmann has done a thorough job on it) but merely to point out two instances in which Professor Renner displayed either a neglect of or a contempt for historical backgrounds. That a man of Dr. Renner's standing should calmly propose to partition Switzerland merely because that little nation is composed of three main linguistic groups is a proof of how dangerous theorizing on the map of Europe can be if one neglects history. Surely the most ordinary student of history will think of Morgarten and Sempach where the hardbitten men of the forest cantons broke the chivalry of the Hapsburgs on their long pikes. Can it be possible that Dr. Renner forgot the glory of Granson and the body of the magnificent Duke of Burgundy lying cold and stiff outside the walls of Nancy, a grim tribute to Swiss prowess? Switzerland has been forged in the fires of war and hardened by the long processes of peace into a nation, and he who would divide it is acting not only against the principles of the Atlantic Charter but against the dictates of history.

One more example from Dr. Renner of the danger of theorizing without an awareness of history. He wishes to partition Poland once more and thus to repeat the eighteenth century crime which for so long soured the politics of Eastern Europe. In this regard he speaks of the establishment of the "corridor" as a deliberate insult to Germany, yet he must have known that the "corridor" was only a partial restoration of territory which had been Poland's for centuries. The conquered Germans were vociferous in their appeals to the fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson, and one of these points spoke of a free Poland with access to the sea. While Dr. Renner's proposal that Poland should have access

to the sea at the expense of Lithuania might have met the approval of a Prussian Junker, its justice remains dubious. If Dr. Renner had read the Allied reply to the German counter proposals at the Peace Conference he would have been saved from making this unwarranted charge against the peace makers of Paris.

These days are so full of menace that we can ill afford the luxury of lazy thinking, thinking that is not based upon an understanding of historical reality. The affairs of post-war Europe will be a sore puzzle to the best-intentioned and most well-informed diplomats. But what will they be to diplomats who, be they ever so well-intentioned, are not well-informed, in fact are ignorant of vital historical backgrounds? It is related that one of the highest arbiters at the Paris Peace Conference, hearing a good deal of talk about Transylvania, finally asked a neighbor: "Where is Transylvania?" No wonder that the treaties of St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly proved to be—to put it mildly—a very inadequate solution to the Gordian knotty problems of the Balkans and the Danubian area!

Not for Diplomats Only

But not only diplomats need history. The importance of a highly enlightened public opinion behind the efforts of the statesmen can hardly be exaggerated. To be aware of the influence which public opinion can have on peace-making, we have only to remember England's notorious election of 1918 which sent Lloyd George to Parliament and Paris with a peace of vengeance platform.

To create this enlightened public opinion is a solemn duty of today's educators. To aid in this the history department stands ready with two great contributions. The first, of course, is the spread of actual knowledge about the backgrounds of war and peace. And this, obvious as it is, can not be over-stressed. Have we not just seen a geographer make two glaring errors in his political theorizing due to a lack of correct information on historical backgrounds? To impart as much as possible of this information to their students is a first duty of deans and departmental directors who should see to it that every college and university should have a well-balanced series of courses. A period of crisis like this is not the time to economize at the expense of the history department. The real task remains as usual with the hard-working history teacher who must redouble his or her efforts to inspire in the student a liking for history. To create and foster that intellectual curiosity which will make the intelligent reading of history a pleasure to be continued after the degree has been conferred, should nowadays above all be a prime objective in teaching history. If the young men and the young women go from college with an adequate general knowledge of history and a desire to go on reading in order to broaden and deepen that knowledge, we shall have gone a long way towards building up the public opinion which is to be desired. For from well-informed alumni and alumnae the sound approach to the problems of the hour will seep down through a thousand channels to the level of the less educated. Editorials will be more restrained, columnists more thoughtful, and radio commentators will have a better understanding of their facts.

Another Contribution

The second great contribution which history offers towards the formation of a healthy public opinion is the training it gives the student in truth-seeking. To seek the truth is not, of course, a peculiar objective of history. Other subjects do likewise. But the training in seeking truth while dealing with facts which are not cold and objective by nature such as two and two are four, which are not aloofly metaphysical, but which throb and burn with human emotion—that is history's special function and history's special glory. We live in times supercharged with emotion; times when hysteria easily gains the ascendancy. This is all the more dangerous and requires a surer antidote in as much as a great deal of emotion is necessary to carry us along in our all-out war effort. None the less war hysteria remains a threat to clear thinking and sound reasoning. And what better corrective is there for this than the study of history? When a student learns to consider problems aqiver with sensibility and packed with emotional appeal, to consider these problems with a ruthless determination to have the truth of the matter regardless of personal sympathy or inherited prejudices, then he or she is being schooled in an objectivity which will be of greatest value in a war-maddened world. Where better than in the laboratory of history where the materials we deal with are often so inflammable can we accustom youth to use light, not heat, in the search for truth?

Truth is far too valuable an asset to be lost in the mists of prejudice and the smoke of even a righteous anger. To build our post-war world upon foundations of justice demands an ability to see things as they are. The public opinion to be desired at war's end would be a sane outlook, based upon objective facts, a viewpoint neither softened by a false sentimentality nor heightened by vengeful indignation. To achieve this a passion for truth is necessary. That passion is nurtured in the lecture halls and seminar rooms of our history departments.

JOSEPH S. BRUSHER, S.J.

The members of "The Historical Bulletin" staff deeply lament the recent decease of Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., noted historian, prominent author, sympathetic adviser, and loyal friend. Father Garraghan, who died suddenly at Loyola University, Chicago, on June 6, 1942, was for many years an interested supporter and generous contributor to the pages of "The Historical Bulletin." Besides his numerous professorial duties, he was actively engaged in literary and historical composition. In 1929 he was chosen editor of "Mid-America," a position which he held for five years. Since 1935 he had been associated with the Institute of Jesuit History at Loyola University.

In addition to his many contributions to various scholarly publications and encyclopedias, Father Garraghan's historical works include: Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City; Catholic Church in Chicago; St. Ferdinand, Story of an Ancient Parish; Chapters in Frontier History; Marquette, Ardent Missionary, Daring Explorer; and his monumental three-volume work on the Jesuits of the Middle United States which appeared in 1938.

Papal Embassy to Ireland - 1542

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JUST four hundred years ago the Holy See sent an embassy to Ireland,¹ an embassy that was one of the first missions² of the young Society of Jesus (just recently approved by the Sovereign Pontiff). It may be of interest not to let this anniversary pass by without recalling the mission somewhat in detail.

In 1539 the state of religion in Ireland was a sad one. The authority of the Pope in that country had been repudiated just three years before by Henry VIII, who now claimed supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. The suppression of the monasteries then begun was in full swing in 1539. In the same year Con O'Neill and O'Donnell were defeated, and the princes who up till then had resisted the king lost all heart. As regards the bishops, many were of doubtful allegiance to Rome.³ The Pope, Paul III, was well informed of Ireland's sad plight⁴ and at the urgent request of Robert Wauchop, archbishop-elect of Armagh, who was then in Rome, decided to send to Ireland some of the sons of Ignatius Loyola as apostolic nuncios.⁵

Choice of Nuncios

It took some time before the final choice of the nuncios was completed. The first chosen in 1540 was John Codure⁶ with a companion, Francis Marsupinus.⁷ For some reason not known, the latter was not sent, and Alphonsus Salmeron⁸ was substituted for him, and the

¹ Edmund Hogan, S.J., *Ibernia Ignatiana* (Dublin, 1880), 1-8, has the best treatment although it does not contain all the pertinent documents later published in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* (65 v., 1894-). This collection will be cited hereafter as *M.H.S.J.* Myles V. Ronan, *The Reformation in Dublin, 1536-1558* (London, 1926), 289-292, on the whole follows Hogan. James Brodrick, S.J., *The Origin of the Jesuits* (London, 1940), 103-111; based on the *M.H.S.J.* This article will give many details not found in Hogan and Brodrick.

² It was not, however, "the first Mission of the Society beyond the Continent of Europe," as T. Corcoran, S.J. states, "Early Irish Educators (II)," *Studies* (Dublin), XXX (March, 1941), 58. Xavier left Lisbon for the Indies, April 7, 1541. *M.H.S.J.*, *Monumenta Xaveriana* (2 v., Madrid, 1899, 1912), I, 247. Moreover, as regards the time when the two missions were planned, the first intimation we have of the Irish Mission is in 1540; see reference *infra*, note 7; whereas John III of Portugal had already in August, 1539 instructed his ambassador at Rome to ask for the companions of Ignatius to work in the Indies. Francisco Rodrigues, S.J., *Historia da Companhia de Jesus na Assistencia de Portugal* (4 v., Oporto, 1931-), I, 222-227.

³ During the reign of Henry VIII twenty-two bishops of the thirty dioceses in Ireland accepted the king's supremacy. Actually of the fifteen bishops appointed by the Pope before 1536 thirteen yielded obedience to Henry. Ronan, *op. cit.*, 303.

⁴ See, e.g., the Pontiff's letter to Con O'Neill in Hogan, *op. cit.*, 2, 3; Ronan, *op. cit.*, 290; *M.H.S.J.*, *Epistolae PP. Broeti, Claudii Jaji, Joannis Codurii et Simonis Rodericii* (1 v., Madrid, 1903), 431, 432; hereafter cited as *E.B.*

⁵ Nicholas Orlandini, *Historia Societatis Jesu* (Rome, 1615), 85.

⁶ Born 1508 in Provence; studied at University of Paris; pronounced first vows at Montmatre, August 15, 1536; ordained priest in Venice, 1537; did apostolic work in Padua; died August 29, 1541. Ludwig Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon* (Paderborn, 1934), 344, 345.

⁷ *E.B.*, 421, note a. Of Marsupinus we know nothing more than his name.

⁸ Born 1515 in Toledo; studied at Paris where he met Ignatius and pronounced first vows at Montmatre; ordained priest in Venice; did apostolic work in different cities of Italy; three times took part as papal theologian in Council of Trent; provincial of Neapolitan Province, 1558-1576; died 1585. Koch, *op. cit.*, 1585.

following year papal documents were made out for the nuncios granting special faculties with letters of introduction to Cardinal Beaton, James V of Scotland and to the princes of Ireland.⁹ Codure, however, died in August, and Paschase Broët¹⁰ took his place. Again, letters of commendation were made out together with a grant of special faculties, which the nuncios could use, if necessary, in Scotland.¹¹

Ignatius, careful superior that he was, gave instructions to his two sons, now become nuncios apostolic. These are found in three documents. In the first one¹² he instructs them as to what they are to do on the journey from Rome to Ireland. The second one¹³ gives instructions as to how they are to deal with the persons they will meet so as to gain them to their side, a set of instructions that reveals the keen, discerning spirit of Ignatius and that can be set up as the perfect rule for becoming all things to all men. In the third document¹⁴ instructions are given the nuncios as to what they are to do in Ireland. They are to endeavor to bring about union and harmony among the princes, to get information about the moral and religious state of the country, etc. and to give a report of all this to Rome.

On the Road to Ireland

The two nuncios set out from Rome on September 10, 1541¹⁵ together with Francis Zapata, a papal notary, who was desirous of entering the religious life and who paid the expenses of the journey.¹⁶ At Lyons they visited Cardinal Beaton, the primate of Scotland, who tried to dissuade them from continuing their journey saying that all the towns and forts of Ireland were in the possession of Henry VIII and that most of the ports

⁹ *E.B.*, 421-431.

¹⁰ Born 1500 in Picardy; ordained 1523; 1534, in Paris and becoming acquainted with Ignatius joined his little group; did apostolic work in different Italian cities; 1551, first provincial of Italy, and 1552, provincial of France. Died 1562. Koch, *op. cit.*, 266.

¹¹ *E.B.*, 204-216.

¹² *M.H.S.J.*, *Epistolae et Instructiones Sancti Ignatii de Loyola* (12 v., Madrid, 1903-1911), I, 174-179; hereafter cited as *E.I.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 179-181. The greater part is translated in Brodrick, *op. cit.*, 104-106.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 727-731. A summary with frequent quotations is given in Brodrick, *op. cit.*, 106, 107. A difficulty arises in this instruction. Twice, p. 727, note b, and p. 730, reference is made to the queen. But Henry VIII was still reigning (until 1547) and Elizabeth did not ascend the throne until 1558. Brodrick, *op. cit.*, 107, evidently sees the difficulty, and when warning is given, p. 730, not to be captured by the ministers of the queen, "dalli ministri della regina" he translates "the King's ministers." Is "regina" a mistake? The document is a copy without date or signature or name of addressee. There is nothing in the content to tie it specifically to 1541. The editors of the *M.H.S.J.* assign it this date. But would Polanco, the secretary of the Society, who made liberal emendations in the copy, have let such a mistake pass unnoticed? Might the instructions be those given to David Wolf, S.J., who was sent by the Pope to Ireland in 1560? For Wolf and the expedition see *M.H.S.J.*, *Polanci Complementa* (2 v., Madrid, 1916, 1917), I, 222, 223; Edmund Hogan, S.J., *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1894), 5-16.

¹⁵ *E.I.*, I, 184.

¹⁶ *M.H.S.J.*, Polanco, S.J., *Chronicon Societatis Jesu* (6 v., Madrid, 1894-1898), I, 96, 97.

also were in English hands.¹⁷ Despite these discouraging words they continued on their way and finally came to Dieppe, where they stayed two weeks awaiting passage for Scotland. They finally set sail, but their ship was forced by bad weather to return to port the following morning. The three travellers, then, decided to proceed to Flanders by land,¹⁸ and from there they went by sea to a port which was probably in Zeeland (south-west of modern Holland) taking three weeks to make the trip from Dieppe. They then set sail for Scotland and spent twenty days, the last days of December, making the passage to Edinburgh, where they arrived on the eve of the new year, 1542. Their ship, a Flemish one, could not make port immediately on account of head winds and stopped two miles distant from Edinburgh. The nuncios went on shore at that place and made their way to Edinburgh by land preceding the ship by six days.¹⁹

They had had a hard crossing. The weather at that time of the year was stormy. Broet and Salmeron who were at sea for the first time suffered keenly. In addition, the extreme cold caused poor Zapata's feet to swell, so that he was unable to stand up. His condition was so bad that it was a month before he recovered. The winds were so violent that one night they thought the ship would founder; and, as a matter of fact, other ships from Flanders perished in the storm. Twice they had to run for shelter into English ports. On one of these occasions they stayed eight days in port, where they spent Christmas. It must have been a sad time for them, for they saw churches and religious houses in ruins and heard much abuse of the Pope.²⁰

Stop at Edinburgh

When they arrived at Edinburgh they found the royal court there. The king and the queen had already heard that they were coming, although they did not know the object of their visit. They thought they were, perhaps, to be legates for Scotland. After resting two days the nuncios went to pay their respects to the king leaving behind poor Zapata, who was not able to go on account of his swollen feet. They were kindly received by the king, to whom they presented the brief of the Pope. James V promised to give them introductory letters for the Irish princes and to supply them with a guide,²¹ who would bring them safely to Ireland. They gave a letter also to the queen, which had been given them by her brother, Charles of Lorraine, the Archbishop of Rheims. They had two or three pleasant conversations with her, in which she asked them about their way of life. They had already been talked about, as there were there some Scotsmen who had known them at Rome. Besides these, the French ambassador, Jean de Morvillier, had spoken very favorably about them to the king

and the queen. The ambassador was very friendly with the nuncios, on several occasions invited them to his house to dine.²²

When they tried to get information about Ireland they met with much uncertainty, as everything was recounted by hearsay. But practically everyone tried to dissuade them from going on to Ireland, including Gavin Dunbar, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the French ambassador, who tried to get the king and the queen to prevent them from continuing their journey. As if this were not enough, three Irish priests made their appearance who also tried to dissuade them, telling them what they had already heard from Cardinal Beaton in Lyons that practically the whole country was in possession of Henry VIII. In addition, they related that a short time before two of the Irish princes, O'Donnell and O'Neill, had submitted to the king and moreover O'Neill had given one of his sons as a hostage. The few Catholics that remained faithful to the Pope were, the priests said, living in the mountains and at enmity with one another.²³

In the face of so many arguments against going, they wished to obtain information from persons who were better informed about the state of affairs in Ireland. They decided, therefore, that Broet should go to Glasgow, where, as they were told, Irishmen often came, as this was a port of embarkation for Ireland. Broet, however, obtained no further information there and then went on to Irvine, a port about fifteen miles away, where travellers disembarked from Ireland. Broet had decided, if he found a ship there, to embark and go on alone to Ireland to find out for himself the state of the country, and in order to avoid detection he had resolved to wear kilts. But, as no ship sailed during the almost two weeks he was there, he could not make the crossing. However, as the information he was able to obtain from merchants and Irishmen in Irvine was not so discouraging as what they had heard in Edinburgh, the three decided to pass over to Ireland.²⁴

In Ireland

They landed in Ireland, February 23, and passed thirty-four days in that country.²⁵ On their arrival they found that what they had already been told in Scotland was true, that the princes, O'Neill and O'Donnell, had been cited eight or ten months before to Dublin to appear before the king's deputy to promise obedience to the king and to recognize him as head *in spiritualibus* and *in temporalibus*²⁶ and had promised to deliver up the nuncios or anyone else bearing apostolic letters from the Roman curia. As these princes showed little interest in the coming of the nuncios and were afraid to receive or see them and as they would not promise them any security, the nuncios thought it better not to trust in them or to see them. Moreover, among the princes themselves there were constant feuds without any justice

(Please turn to Page Eighteen)

¹⁷ *E.B.*, 25

¹⁸ *M.H.S.J.*, *Epistolae Mixtae* (5 v., Madrid, 1898-1901), I, 81, 82

¹⁹ *M.H.S.J.*, *Epistolae P. Alphonsi Salmeronis* (2 v., Madrid, 1906, 1907), I, 2, 3; hereafter cited as *E.S.*; *E.B.*, 24

²⁰ *E.S.*, 3, 4; *E.B.*, 24

²¹ This was Farquhar Farquharson, a brother of the Bishop of the Isles, who accompanied them also on their return journey to Rome, according to the report sent from Lyons to England by the Englishman, William Paget, cited in Hogan, *op. cit.*, 6, 8; *E.S.*, I, 581. The bishop's name is not found in Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, or Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*

²² *E.S.*, I, 4, 5. The letter of introduction to the Irish princes given them by the king is found in Hogan, *op. cit.*, 5, 6, and in *E.S.*, I, 580

²³ *E.S.*, I, 5, 6; *E.B.*, 25

²⁴ *E.S.*, I, 6, 9

²⁵ Their field of observation was confined to Mid-Ulster. T. Corcoran, S.J., "Early Irish Jesuit Educators (I)," *Studies* XXIX (Dec., 1940), 548

²⁶ Henry VIII had been proclaimed King of Ireland by the Irish Parliament, 26 June, 1541. See Ronan, *op. cit.*, 251-259.

The Jesuits at the Council of Trent

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TRENT is a significant milestone in the history of the church. Because of its ecumenical character, and because of the importance of the persons involved, it would be difficult to overestimate the far-reaching effects of this council. The present paper purposes to treat briefly of the work and influence of the nascent Company of Jesus at Trent. A full account of this influence would require a volume of substantial size; in a study of this sort we can permit ourselves hardly more than a memorandum on the subject.

Since, as Pope Leo XIII has said, "in history, truth must prevail,"¹ and since we cannot truthfully and adequately discuss an historical event unless we re-create it in proper perspective, it is imperative that we briefly outline the *raison d'être* of the council, and thereby place it in focus. Tridentine figures and events must be re-created in a sixteenth century background, for it is futile to judge the one or the other by thrusting them into the modern ideological scene.

Background

The church of Christ in the sixteenth century went through an intense period of strife and stress. Torn from within by deep-seated curial corruption, and threatened from without by an ever-increasing coalition of "Protestant" countries, the church seems never to record a moment in her scroll of history when she had greater warrant for uttering the words of the storm-tossed apostles: "Lord, save us, we perish!" (Matt., 8:25). Graft and all manner of concomitant evils were to be observed in high positions in the church, and even the fountain-head of the papacy itself was not entirely free from stigma.² Various pontiffs of the Renaissance had devoted themselves more to the accumulation of precious bric-a-brac than to their spiritual duties. Cardinals kept concubines, and priests fathered illegitimate offspring, thus becoming entirely unmindful of their exalted office of sacrifice and prayer. Convents were relaxed, and religious orders found it impossible to maintain themselves in their spiritual vigor and observance. While a good number of prelates, priests and nuns lived acceptable and even holy lives, it nevertheless remained regretfully true that the clerical and religious life of the church was in need of a general housecleaning.³ So rampant was the corruption, that two Jesuit missionaries in Germany, Fathers Gewarts and Stotz, found that only a few of the German priests used the correct formula in administering the sacraments, being especially negligent of the integral formula for sacramental absolution.⁴

Such a brief summary must suffice to show that truly

deplorable state to which worldiness and a host of other contributing causes had reduced religion in the sixteenth century. But the church proved the divinity within her by the ultimate success of that general council which we have already called a milestone in her history. Trent achieved so much that was truly lasting as to merit a high rank among the other eighteen ecumenical councils which had preceded it. Despite a liberal dose of politics and exasperating delays and postponements, the fact remains that the Tridentine fathers did achieve their double purpose: doctrinal enunciation and definite plans for church reform.

A series of far-sighted popes, especially Paul IV (1555-1559) Pius IV (1559-1563), St. Pius V (1566-1572) and Sixtus V (1585-1590), had succeeded the lukewarm pontiffs of the early part of the century. These supreme pastors determined to do their utmost to purge their flock of simony, greed and corruption. Trent was the greatest single maneuver in the papal strategy of the time.

Enter the Jesuits

As Cardinal legates, bishops and abbots jogged along provincial roads leading to Trent, they must surely have found food for thought and conversation in the newest oddity of the day, the order of Jesuits, which had been founded by Ignatius Loyola but a scant decade before. In 1534 this Manresa-moulded Spanish nobleman had inaugurated his "Company of Jesus," despite the objections of some Cardinals who grumbled that the time had come for the suppression of religious orders rather than their foundation. But even these purple-clad fathers were forced to change their opinions as the crusaders of Ignatius, few in number, it is true, proved their fidelity and usefulness to the beleaguered church of God in all manner of apostolic activity. Even Pope Paul III uttered that oft-quoted encomium: "The spirit of God is here."⁵

Since the beginnings of this new militia were so propitious, although marked by persecution and hostility, it is not to be wondered at that some of the warriors of the Company should figure in the greatest ecclesiastical event of the century, the Council of Trent. And so it was to be, for St. Ignatius sent two of his sons to Trent as special theologians of Pope Paul III, selected at the pontiff's earnest behest.

⁵ The common quotation is: "Digitus Dei est hic," "The finger of God is here," but Tacchi-Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, Rome, 1930, 2, p. 301, note 2, quoting from Maffei, Bk. 2, c. 12, p. 114 says: "When the Pope had read (the formula of the Constitutions), he immediately said: 'The spirit of God is here.' Orlandini agrees with Maffei, Bk. 2, n. 82, p. 61, and Ribadeneira, *Vita Sancti Ignatii* (1587) c. 11, n. 137, also repeats this version. Still, in his Castilian life of St. Ignatius, Ribadeneira introduces the famous phrase 'Digitus Dei est hic.' These words are found in Exodus, 8:19. The scriptural allusion seems to have made this apocryphal version more popular, and in course of time the original words of the Pontiff were disregarded. Many ancient and modern biographers of Ignatius repeat this mistake, e.g., Genelli, Bartoli, Sedgwick, Hollis and Thompson. But Astrain and Dudon, in his *Saint Ignace de Loyola*, Paris, 1934, do not repeat the error.

¹ Letter "Saepenumero Considerantes," August 18, 1883, in *Leonis XIII Pontificis Maximi Acta*, Rome, 1884, 3, p. 268

² e.g., see Pastor, *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, St. Louis, 1891-1938, 8, p. 406, where a speech of Cardinal Pico della Mirandola at the Fifth Lateran Council is given.

³ See Belloc, *Europe and the Faith*, New York, 1920, especially c. 8 "What was the Reformation?"

⁴ Braunsberger, *Beati Petri Canisii Societatis Jesu Epistulae et Acta*, Freiburg in Bregau, 1896-1923, 4, pp. 672-673

John Polanco, first secretary of the Society of Jesus, tells us that some of those interested in the success of the council had expressed the opinion that the sessions would really begin when the Jesuits went to Trent, for up to that time the affairs of the council had been dormant, and but few delegates had assembled in the Tyrol.⁶

Who were the various Jesuits sent to Trent, and who was responsible for their being sent? First of all, Father General Ignatius was not present, as the needs of his Company occupied his entire time in the Eternal City. But besides Lainez and Salmeron, who were Ignatius' choice to fulfill the post of papal theologians, there were Jean Cuvillon, a Belgian Jesuit sent to Trent by Albert, Duke of Bavaria, and Claude Le Jay, the representative of Cardinal Archbishop Otto Truchsess of Augsburg. Peter Faber, the first priest of the Society, was to have been the third papal theologian, but he died at Rome in the arms of Ignatius just before the time of his scheduled departure. Besides these, Peter Canisius joined the others in 1547 as theologian to the Prince-Archbishop of Cologne. All of the Jesuits took up their abode in the common guest house of St. Elizabeth, and there they adhered to the community life outlined for them by their rule.

It is characteristic that Ignatius, the careful administrator, should provide a special set of rules for the Tridentine Jesuits to observe. He told them that they were first, to seek only the glory of God and the good of the church, secondly, they were to busy themselves outside the council in trying to do good to everyone, as their Institute suggested, and, thirdly, at home among themselves, they were to take great care not to forget their own perfection and progress. "Indeed," said Ignatius, "The day on which you lose sight of yourselves, you will seek neither the good of souls, nor the good of the church, nor the glory of God, but your own honor and personal interest."⁷

Moreover, in the actual sessions at Trent, they were to be slow to speak and were to weigh well what they said. While listening to others, they were to strive after attention, tranquility and sagacity; and in every discussion they were to be extremely careful that no word of theirs should be painful or cutting. The General concludes his instructions with the following words:

"In every conversation you chance to have, spy out an occasion for that most important of all matters, to exhort people to repentance and to all other virtues, and ever keep before your eyes to seek the good, not of one only, but of the whole Christian world. In discussions and arguments, it is well to be brief; however, in order to get men to follow virtue and to flee from vice, your speech should be long and full of charity and kindness."⁸

Lainez and Salmeron at Trent

We are now prepared to say a few words on the individual and collective works of the Jesuits at Trent. The most prominent and active of them all, at least in the earlier phase of the discussions, was James

Lainez, future successor of Ignatius as General of the Company of Jesus. No one at the council had aught but respect for his superiority in matters theological, and many are the extant tributes which attest to this supremacy. One such tribute we may quote is, it is true, from the pen of Salmeron, a fellow Jesuit, but nothing leads us to suspect Salmeron's honesty in penning the following confidential words to Ignatius: "Many very learned and important bishops publicly stated that the opinion of Lainez was the best of those expressed at Trent."⁹

The Tridentine labors of Lainez merit no other adjective so aptly as that of stupendous, for he and Salmeron were deputed by Cardinal Cervini, the papal legate, so to divide their efforts that one of them should be among the first to express his opinion early in the discussion, while the other should always speak in the end and refute whatever less orthodox views had been aired.¹⁰ Lainez acknowledged that he would quote no opinion of any doctor of the church regarding doctrine whose works he had not read in their entirety, yet, in his ordinary allocutions, he frequently quoted from as many as thirty of these authors.¹¹ It likewise fell to the lot of Lainez to write entire sections of the Acts of the Council, and the decrees and canons of the fourteenth session are notably from his hand. The Pope commended that both Lainez and Salmeron should be present at all the sessions of the council which lasted, with its interruptions, from 1545 to 1563. One aftermath of this activity and prominence in Tridentine affairs occurred later when, at the death of Paul IV, twelve votes were cast for Lainez as pope. He fled precipitously out of sheer terror, and remained concealed until the "danger" was over.¹²

Alphonsus Salmeron was, as we have said, the other choice of Ignatius as papal theologian. His contribution to the work of the council is also distinctly worthy of note. In addition to preaching occasionally before the Fathers of the Council in Sta. Maria Maggiore, Salmeron had an important part in the discussions on the obligation of episcopal residence.¹³ With regard to his preaching, on one occasion he conducted himself so well that he was required to have his sermon printed and published, an honor that came to no other Tridentine orator who spoke outside the sessions.¹⁴ Father Salmeron also actively jostled with Tridentine Utraquists on the perplexing problem of the administration of the chalice to the laity. This concession he vehemently opposed under any circumstances. However, a critical word against Salmeron's method of argumentation is given by Father Broderick in his work on Saint Peter Canisius: "Salmeron was too fond of 'press gang' methods in his argumentation. Thus, after citing a few good patristic authorities to his purpose, he concluded with never a blush 'et alii omnes,' 'and all the rest!'"¹⁵

⁹ Grisar, *Disputationes Tridentinae*, Vienna, 1886, 1, p. 21

¹⁰ MHSI, *Epistulae Salmeronis*, 1, pp. 26-27

¹¹ Grisar, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 20

¹² *Ibid.*, 1, p. 18

¹³ Braunsberger, *op. cit.*, 3, p. 448

¹⁴ MHSI, *Chronicon Polanci*, 1, p. 181

¹⁵ Broderick, *Saint Peter Canisius*, London, 1935, p. 498

⁶ *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (MHSI), Madrid-Rome, 1894-1938, *Chronicon Polanci*, 2, p. 249

⁷ MHSI, *Monumenta Ignatiana*, 1, pp. 386-389, letter of St. Ignatius entitled: "Instrucción para la jornada de Trento."

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1, p. 389

Canisius, Cuvillon, and Le Jay

Another Tridentine Jesuit of consequence was the redoubtable "hammer of heretics," Peter Canisius. Of his lasting influence at Trent a German historian recently wrote: "It may be that the decrees of Trent would have remained more or less a dead letter had not the Roman Curia found an auxiliary which made it its life's business to translate them into action."¹⁶ Now, as Father Broderick points out, "the Society of Jesus became established in Northern Germany through Peter Canisius, and for more than a score of years, he was to be the great leader and inspirer of its activities."¹⁷ Hence the influence of Canisius on the Tridentine decrees is paramount.

In addition to rendering valuable assistance to Lainez and Salmeron in translating German controversial works, Canisius played an important part in the reformation of the Index published by the Roman Inquisition, for he was a member of the commission which concerned itself with this matter.¹⁸ He also busied himself with the ever recurrent question of communion under both kinds and with the proper interpretation of the sixth chapter of St. John. Again, at the request of Stanislaus Hosius, Bishop of Ermland, he drew up a memorandum on the abuses prevalent in celebrating mass.¹⁹ Later, in 1568, this indefatigable toiler revised Father Hoffaeus' German version of the valuable *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, devoting enormous care to the work.

Father Jean Cuvillon occupied a peculiar position at Trent. He was the full-fledged ambassador of the Duke of Bavaria, which was rather a distinctive office for a religious. He was a neurotic type who caused his Jesuit superiors, notably Peter Canisius, all manner of trouble.²⁰ When it became evident that Duke Albert was pressing for the grant of the chalice to the laity as well as the abrogation of clerical celibacy in Bavaria, Cuvillon became very uneasy, and Canisius persuaded him to write to the Duke and obtain a release from his ambassadorial duties. This discharge was obtained by Cuvillon, and he then remained at Trent in a more fitting capacity, that of theologian to the Bavarian Embassy.²¹ This Belgian Jesuit was emphatically not of the intellectual stature of Lainez and Canisius, and his work in the council does not nearly approach theirs in scope or importance, although he took part in the discussions on holy orders and stoutly defended the sacramental character of the ordination rite.²²

The last Jesuit of whose activities we must speak is Claude Le Jay, who represented the Cardinal Archbishop Otto of Augsburg at Trent. He arrived at the Council but a few days after its inauguration on December 13, 1545, and during the early sessions he enjoyed some

special privileges. He was allowed to speak ahead of abbots and generals of religious orders and for some time enjoyed the privilege, although only a simple theologian, of debating on equal terms with the bishops.²³ This was because he was the procurator of a Cardinal, an office that carried certain privileges with it.

Le Jay was very human and had an attractive personality and did much towards winning the good will of the Fathers of the Council. Indeed, when Lainez and Salmeron arrived at Trent, they found Le Jay in great favor with the prelates, "disseminating the good odor of the Society."²⁴ He took an active part in the discussions on the sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation, on original sin and justification.²⁵ Concerning the Tridentine activities of Lainez and Salmeron, Father Le Jay thus reports to Ignatius:

"All have now had their say, and by the grace of Our Lord, our companions, Lainez and Salmeron, have expressed their views in a most admirable manner. Certainly, I do not think that there is anyone more trusted by Cardinal Cervini than these two, nor any to whom he shows greater marks of esteem. . . . We have every reason to be grateful to Our Lord Jesus Christ for having deigned to use our Fathers' services in matters of such importance."²⁶

In addition to the individual tasks described above, the little group of Tridentine Jesuits busied themselves with varied works of the sacred ministry. As a result of a begging campaign for the poor of the city, Lainez was able to tell Ignatius in September, 1546, that "they had provided clothes for seventy-six poor people."²⁷ The Fathers celebrated mass for the poor and constantly visited the sick and the dying, as St. Ignatius had counselled them to do. Added to these works of zeal, the tireless Lainez frequently occupied the pulpit of Sta. Maria Maggiore, his auditors including most of the prelates and officials of the Council.

From this brief résumé, it will be seen that the Company of Jesus played an important part in the affairs of the momentous Tridentine Council. We will not be deserting the path of truth if we call this work an early triumph for the newly-born Company of Jesus. Individually as well as collectively, by their public and private tasks, by their prayers, sacrifices and the fine example of their clerical lives, these "poor clerks" of the Society of Jesus did much in furthering the success of the Tridentine discussions.

²³ Broderick, *op. cit.*, p. 89

²⁴ MHSI, *Chronicon Polanci*, 1, p. 178

²⁵ Ehses, *op. cit.*, 5, pp. 162, 640, 990

²⁶ MHSI, *Epistulae PP. Paschasii Broeti, Claudii Jaii, Joannis Coduri et Simonis Roderici*, 1, pp. 332-333

²⁷ MHSI, *Monumenta Lainii*, 1, p. 49

Books to be Reviewed in Our Next Issue

Elizabeth, Creature of Circumstance, by Hilaire Belloc. Harpers. \$2.75.

Lafayette and the Close of the American Revolution, by Louis Gollschalk. University of Chicago Press. \$4.50.

Survey of European Civilization, by Louis L. Snyder. Stackpole Sons. \$3.00.

Grant of Appomattox, by William E. Brooks. Bobbs-Merrill. \$3.00.

Economic History of Athens Under Roman Domination, by John Day. Columbia University. \$3.50.

How War Came, by Forrest Davis and Ernest K. Lindley. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

Pageant of the Popes, by John Farrow. Sheed and Ward. \$3.50.

¹⁶ Viktor Bibl, *Maximilian II, der rätselhafte Kaiser*, Hellerau bei Dresden, 1929, quoted in Broderick, *op. cit.*, p. 112

¹⁷ Broderick, *op. cit.*, p. 86

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 490

¹⁹ Braunsberger, *op. cit.*, 3, pp. 472-473

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2, p. 28

²¹ Broderick, *op. cit.*, p. 57

²² Ehses, *Diavorum, Actorum, Epistularum et Tractatum Concilii Tridentini Nova Editio*, Freiburg in Bressgau, 1924, 6, p. 11

Medieval Universities

(Continued from Page Four)

soiores, artes videlicet liberales et intonate nobilioris eloquentiae thuba decreta leguntur et leges." (Chart I, p. 56.) "On this isle in olden times philosophy built herself a royal throne. . . . In this isle the seven sisters, the liberal arts, constructed an eternal dwelling place, and mid the sonorous sound of gracious eloquence there are lectures on the canonical decrees and the civil laws." Thus before the turn of the century we see that on the Ile de la Cité, arts, philosophy, canon and civil law were studied, as well as theology, although there was no formal organization of all these faculties.

Beginnings at Paris

Soon, however, the arts course, a prerequisite for study in the higher schools became crowded and masters and students alike took refuge on the left bank, the present Latin Quarter. At first the arts students found lodging where they could, in a monastery, a hospital or in private dwellings. The first foundation of residence hall for students at Paris was the *Collège des Dix Huit* established by the chapter of Notre Dame for eighteen poor students in 1180. This was the first college in the world. The development of the college system at Paris was relatively rapid. Among the most famous were the *Collège de la Sorbonne* for theologians, *Collège des Bon Enfants*, *Collège de Montaigu*, *Collège de Navarre*. Besides this there were, of course, convents and monasteries for the clerks regulars, the friars, and the monks who came to Paris for studies. But always a great many students were lodged in garrets and mean dwellings in various sections of the *Quartier Latin*.

In the beginning classes were held in the cloisters or parvis of Notre Dame. But with the increase in numbers of students, especially of the artists, masters were forced to conduct their lectures wherever they could find a space; literally they were forced to hire a hall in order to obtain a hearing.

The college system has disappeared from the Continental University, but Oxford and Cambridge have retained it, and some of our American universities are introducing the college residence hall and in this way they are following the model set in the thirteenth century by Paris. On the Continent, the university swallowed up the colleges; at Oxford and Cambridge the colleges absorbed the university.

The Parisian "Studium Generale"

Thus we have a fairly accurate picture of the *Studium Generale* at Paris in the first decades of the thirteenth century—an association of masters and students. The number of masters and students increased and it was necessary to draw up regulations and statutes. The concept of a *studium generale* became more sharply defined; it was an institution frequented by students from all lands comprising the faculty of arts and at least one of the higher faculties, not all, Theology, Civil or Canon Law, Medicine. Paris was famous for its theology; *madame la haute science*; because of its fame in theology students came there in great numbers; nevertheless the theologians were vastly outnumbered by the Artists. Many of the students never advanced beyond the Arts course.

Before the end of the thirteenth century Paris had all four faculties; and university was organized into four nations and four faculties. The four nations were the French, Norman, Picard and English, this latter included all the people of the North. Although Paris grew directly from the Cathedral school of Notre Dame, presided over by the Archbishop's chancellor, by 1231 Paris had become *de facto* and *de jure* a Papal Institution, independent to a large extent of the civil jurisdiction as well as of the local ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For a long period the chancellor continued to grant the *licentia docendi*, but it was a mere formality. It was the masters who ruled at Paris; it was they who decided who should be recommended for degrees and the chancellor perforce must grant the degree. It was the masters, too, representing the various nations who elected the Rector. Paris was emphatically a *universitas magistrorum*, in contrast to Bologna which was a student university. Most of the universities founded in the North were fashioned on the Paris model and emphasized faculty control. Even as late as the sixteenth century, so marked was the difference between Paris and the Italian universities, that St. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, insisted that the universities founded by his company should be modelled on that of Paris; the *modus Parisiensis* was to be followed in every detail.

The year 1231 is an important date in the history of the University of Paris, the year in which Gregory IX issued his famous Bull *Parens scientiarum*. This is the Magna Charta of the University. The relationship between the university and the city is clearly defined; the courses of studies, the granting of degrees are to be regulated by the corporation (the *universitas*). It is because of this document and other favors granted it by the Papacy that Paris was able to secure a strong impregnable position under the aegis of the Church, Catholic and Universal, and as such to be a factor in the cultural life of Christendom. Rightly Paris could boast; Rome has the Papacy, Germany the Empire, but France has the University.

Study of Law at Bologna

The two medieval universities that served as models for all the others that were founded during the thirteenth and succeeding centuries, were Paris and Bologna. Despite their many points of similarity, there were nevertheless, as indicated before, striking differences between these two. Both universities owe their origin to famous teachers who drew countless students. At Paris the teachers of dialectic and theology attracted the students; at Bologna it was the teachers of rhetoric and law that brought renown, especially Irnerius for Civil Law and Gratian for Canon Law. The Italians never lost their love for rhetoric (*eloquentia*), an inheritance from Quintilian's day. Consequently, the subject in the trivium that was most emphasized in the schools of Italy was rhetoric, whereas at Paris it was dialectic. Dialectic led to theology, rhetoric on the other hand was the door to the study of law. And it was the study of law, canon and civil, that brought fame to Bologna. By the end of the twelfth century Bologna is known all over the world as the learned city. Proudly the Bolognese stamped on their coins, *Bononia docet*.

In the middle of the twelfth century Bologna possessed a multitude of schools and students; but it was not yet regarded as a *studium generale*. The first official recognition came in 1158 from Frederick Barbarossa who granted special privileges to the foreign students at Bologna. The organization at Bologna differed radically from that of Paris where the university was a guild of masters and students with the masters in control. At Bologna the students organized among themselves forming an *universitas alumnorum*; the masters or doctors as they were called at Bologna did not join them. The reason for this was that the doctors were nearly all Bolognese, members of the municipality; the students on the other hand were mostly foreigners. The students in the faculties of canon and civil law were generally mature men, some with positions of authority in their own country and they far outnumbered the students of arts. It is thus easy to explain how Bologna developed into a student-controlled university. Other circumstances made it imperative that the students of Bologna have a strongly organized body to protect their rights against the aggressions of the municipality. The municipality demanded of the masters an oath that they would forever reside in the city. This was a shrewd move on the part of the Bolognese as schools brought revenue, and by this they hoped to prevent any migration of the students with their masters to rob Bologna of its fame and its income. Further the academic freedom of the masters was impeded by the legislation, making all the masters officials of the municipality. They thus lost all independence and could not take sides in any dispute between the town and the students.

Bologna an "Universitas Alumnorum"

The development of Bologna was the work of the students. They resisted any limitation of their rights by the municipality and any domination by the professors. In the first half of the thirteenth century the government of the university was in the hands of the two nations of students, the Cismontani and the Ultramontani. The heads of the two nations were the rectors of the universities, although the direction of the studies was conceded to the professors. They were also permitted to conduct the examination and to grant the license or degrees. These rectors, chosen by the students, selected the professors and dismissed them if they were not satisfactory.

One might draw the unwarranted conclusion that a university controlled by students might have rather lax academic standards. The contrary seems to have been the case. These men were serious-minded men for the most part, eager to prepare themselves for careers, to fill positions in the ecclesiastical or royal chancelleries of Europe. The *examen tremendum et rigorosum* at Bologna for the degree was famous. In fact, legislation was passed by the *universitas scolarium* to keep the professors in line. For example, a professor was not allowed to be absent without leave; if absent, even for a day, he had to give bond for his return. And if he failed to secure an audience of five for his lectures he was fined as if absent. He must begin with the bell and quit with the bell. He was not allowed to skip chapters, he must cover the ground. "No one might spend the whole year," as Haskins impishly remarks, "on introduction and bibliography."

Relations with the Papacy

The relationship of Paris with the Papacy was extremely close, as we have seen; naturally enough, as the sacred science of theology was the glory of Paris and from this fostering mother were to come the theologians of Christendom. Moreover, at Paris all were clerics, both masters and students, though not necessarily in holy orders. At Bologna, on the contrary, not all of the students or masters were clerics; this was especially true in the faculty of civil law. Nevertheless with the development of Canon Law at Bologna, the Holy See became vitally interested; future dignitaries for the universal church were being trained here. And gradually the Holy See intervened to remove the corporation of students from the control of the municipality and to guarantee the regularity of the studies, especially in canon law. It was largely through the instrumentality of the Papacy that the autonomy of the university was assured and students flocked thither from all parts of Christendom.

Other universities that came into existence in other parts of Europe were fashioned either on the model of Paris or the model of Bologna, that is, they were either universities controlled by masters or universities controlled by students. Some were founded by Papal Bull, as Avignon, some by Imperial Edict, as Naples, some by Royal Charter, as Salamanca, some by migration from other universities, as Orleans and Cambridge, but all of them in varying degrees devoted to the work of the advancement of learning, all of them playing their part in the building up of our Western civilization.

At the beginning of the university period, the tendency was for a *studium generale* to concentrate on one of the higher faculties; thus Paris was preeminent in theology, Bologna in Law. But in the course of time, educational rivalry led them to set up all four faculties, Arts, Theology, Law, and Medicine. Or, as an ancient chronicler of Paris puts it:

"The fostering university of Paris accordingly rests firmly on four faculties, supported as it were on four very strong columns; or rather from the university, as from four welling springs of wisdom flows a very great and inexhaustible sea of philosophy. In this sea any one can easily fish with the nets of studiousness and diligence for the savory fish of virtue, knowledge, and truth of every kind."¹

The Arts course was a prerequisite for any of the higher faculties. "This faculty," says the chronicler just quoted, "far more numerous than the others, is called the famous Faculty of Arts, the basis, mother, and nurse of all the others."² So highly was this faculty regarded that at Paris its dean was the Rector of the whole university.

Length of Different Courses

The length of the course of Arts varied at different times and in different universities, as low as three and one-half years and as high as six years. Originally it was intended during the course in Arts to cover all the seven liberal arts; but grammar early was relegated to a preparatory course. Rhetoric became for the most part the *ars dictaminis*, a sort of business Latin. Dialectic expanded to include the new Aristotle. And the dialecticians triumphed over the humanists; indeed the

¹ *Compendium Univ. Paris*, p. 37

² *Ibid.*, p. 40

dialectic method invaded the other faculties as well, medicine, law, and theology. The first degree granted in the Arts course (which might more properly be called the course in Philosophy) was that of Bachelor of Arts. This was awarded after the successful conclusion of an oral examination. The next degree was the *licentia*, usually granted two years after the baccalaureate. The candidate was obliged to be twenty years of age. The steps to this degree consisted of two examinations and a public disputation. If he successfully passed these he was presented to the Chancellor and received from this official the solemn license in the name of the Trinity to incept or begin to teach in the faculty of arts. This was the *inceptio*, or commencement of his career as a teacher. A half a year later he received the Master's degree. The final step was a formal lecture or disputation before the faculty, after which he received the Magisterial biretta and book, the Pax was administered and he was coöpted into the honorable society of masters and took his place upon the magisterial *cathedra*.

In the faculty of theology the course was at least eight years in duration and the candidate for the doctorate had to be thirty-five years of age. The tendency at Paris was to lengthen the course of theology and abbreviate the course in Arts. In Medicine the course was four to five years after the completion of the arts course. Some universities required practice for a year under a doctor before the degree could be granted. In the faculty of laws, the degree of doctor of canon or civil law was granted six to eight years after the arts course. For the J.U.D., ten years were necessary.

(To be continued next issue)

Queen Elizabeth

(Continued from Page Six)

on entering England were considered agents to foment rebellion. The plan came to nought. In 1583, the Duke of Guise had a plan for a double invasion from the north and from the south; Father Robert Persons, now in exile, thought that the time to strike had come; Pope Gregory held such high hopes that he re-wrote the bull of excommunication in which Elizabeth is called a Jezebel and an impure woman. The plan fell through, however, and the bull was never published, but in England a considerable number of missionary priests declared on trial that in case of war they would side with the invading armies. Another plan of invasion and arming of all English Catholics was considered in 1586.

Then comes the famous 1588, year of "the invincible armada." Had it succeeded, since Mary Stuart was now dead, Philip II would have tried to place his daughter Isabella upon England's throne. Sixtus V was now pope. While he had not the confidence in Philip II possessed by his predecessors, nor so continuously urged the Spanish king to the invasion, he promised on certain conditions to share largely in the expense, and Cardinal Allen, exiled leader of the English Catholics, issued: *An admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland concerninge the present warres made for the execution of his Holines sentence by the highe and mightie Kinge Catholike of Spaine. By the Cardinal of Englande*. This is much in the style of Robert Persons that at least parts of this broadside were probably composed by the Jesuit. The Cardinal in the ex-

citement of this momentous year of 1588 laid aside his usual moderation and we find in the "admonition" such a line as this, that the Queen of England is "an incestuous bastard, begotten and borne in sinne of an infamous curtesan," while England is called "a place of refuge and sanctuarie of all Atheystes, Anabaptistes, heretikes, and rebellious of all nations."⁶ When the armada failed as many copies of the pamphlet as could be got hold of were called in, but knowledge at least of its existence came to the English government.

The sailing of the Armada was figured prominently in the excommunication of Elizabeth and was accompanied by a declaration of Pope Sixtus V against the Queen. In 1600 Clement VIII bestowed a crusade indulgence upon the Earl of Tyrone, leader of another Irish rebellion and styled him "Captain General of the Catholic army." The bull of Pius V and the action of succeeding popes offered to non-Catholic Englishmen acute provocation to a passionate hatred of the papacy and all it stood for. Persecutions in England increased. The month of August, 1588, was terrible for Catholics. On a single day thirteen, six priests and seven laymen, were executed. An Anglican, Anthony Marten, wrote a violent pamphlet to stir up all Englishmen to the vigorous defense of their country in this its time of peril. In this piece we read that "the Romish anti-Christ has blown the trumpet of rebellion; he is the man of sin who has stirred up rebellion in England, who has insulted the queen and declared her deposed."⁷ The pope, continued Marten, has sent forth false hypocrites to ruin the people's loyalty for the queen, he weaves plots against her life, his herald is the king of Spain. This hatred of Rome became crystallized in English Puritanism and in this form it was carried over into North America.

More Plots

Connected with the excommunication of Elizabeth, besides plans and attempts at invasion there was the hatching of various plots for the dethronement or assassination of England's queen. Some of these were even fomented by the English government itself to ensnare more easily unwary Catholics. There was, for instance, the Ridolfi conspiracy of 1571, the Babington plot of 1580, and in the same year designs of assassination on the part of certain English gentlemen represented by one Humphrey Ely, their agent with the ecclesiastical authorities. The attacks against Elizabeth planned or executed by Catholics abroad carried over into the following century.

The case of the Humphrey Ely conspirators is the more interesting in that the papacy itself became directly implicated. Ely went to Madrid to consult the papal nuncio, Cardinal Filippo Sega, as to whether the group of men he represented might slay Elizabeth. The Cardinal thought they might since the bull of excommunication gave Englishmen the right to take up arms against her. But he promised to write to Rome. The reply came indited by the papal secretary, Tolomeo Galli, called the Cardinal of Como, who wrote for his master Gregory XIII in part as follows: "Since that guilty woman of England rules over two such noble kingdoms of Christen-

⁶ Quoted in Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 286

⁷ Quoted in Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 315f

dom and is the cause of so much injury to the Catholic faith, and the loss of so many millions of souls, there is no doubt that whosoever sends her out of the world with the pious intention of doing God service, not only does not sin, but gains merit, especially having regard to the sentence pronounced against her by Pius V of holy memory. And so, if those English nobles desire actually to undertake so glorious a work, Your Lordship can assure them that they do not commit any sin. We trust in God also that they will escape danger."⁸ Father Pollen in his investigations of forty years ago into the politics of English Catholics during Elizabeth's reign concluded that there was at least some sort of toleration of assassination.⁹ But since that time a copy of the document above quoted was discovered by Pollen's fellow investigator, Arnold Oskar Meyer.

The popes had it in their power to quash practically every plot contrived abroad against Elizabeth, for knowledge of their existence came in one way or another to the papal chancery. It was the ill-informed English exiles who chiefly did the plotting.

The Jesuit, Robert Persons, who with Blessed Edmund Campion entered England as a missionary in 1580, fled the country the following year and spent the rest of his life in exile. From then on Persons became the most active agent in stirring up Rome and Spain against Elizabeth. A book would not hold his activities, and the English government knew that he was a prime mover of opposition and invasion. After Cardinal Allen's furious pen attack of 1588 against the Queen, which may well have been composed by Persons, so much is it in his style, the Jesuit replied in 1591 to a new edict of the English government against Jesuits and seminary priests. This was his *Elizabethae Angliae Reginae*. . . .¹⁰ It was a brilliant defense of the English missionary priests, but he did their cause no good within England when he spoke of Elizabeth's "herodian" legislation, designated Walsingham, late secretary of state, as "well nigh crazy," and compared the cruelty of Elizabeth to that of Diocletian, Decius, and Domitian. In 1594 Persons published his famous *A Conference about the next Succession of the Crowne of England*¹¹ in which he favored a Spanish princess for the English throne. The energetic and multitudinous activities of Persons, carried on for many decades, did not tend to create an English national feeling friendly to the Jesuits.¹²

Mary and Elizabeth: a Distinction

Surprise has been recently expressed in these columns¹³ concerning the statement that "Mary killed formally

for religion; Elizabeth formally for treason." The statement should cause no surprise; it is a statement of fact. Words must be used and understood carefully, especially when they modify phrases. The meaning of the word "formal" as given in a standard dictionary is: Of or pertaining to established forms or methods; "formally is: In accordance with forms; in an authorized manner. Thus it was with Queen Mary and her half-sister, Queen Elizabeth. Mary's government burned almost three hundred heretics under the formality of the old law of 1401 against heretics, *De Heretico Comburendo*, enacted to suppress the Lollards; Elizabeth's government executed men for treason under the formality of the new law made by itself, which pronounced it treason to the state not to take the oath of supremacy to the Queen. Cogent reasons can be brought forth to argue that this law was unjust; but it was a law and formally according to it the Catholic martyrs were executed for treason. Under Mary certain rebels were slain formally for religion; under Elizabeth many who were not rebels were slain formally for treason. Reflecting on the facts presented in the above paragraphs the historian, it seems, should not be surprised that Elizabeth's government condemned Catholics formally for treason. Indeed, considering the age and the times the opposite would seem true: it would be surprising if Elizabeth's government did not condemn formally for treason. To be sure, the condemned could always gain release from sentence of death through the denial of his faith. This is understood too. Such denial, as the English national outlook saw it, removed him from membership in the dangerous and treasonable party.

Nor, if one is thinking clearly, is there difficulty concerning the term "martyr" as applied to the Catholic victims. The accepted definition of a martyr among Catholics is: one slain in hatred of the Faith. A theologian, furthermore, will inform you that when one is canonized the reasons alleged for the honor are not protected by the prerogative of infallibility, but only the fact of the saint's beatific existence in the other world. Nevertheless, when Rome proclaims officially for martyrdom in a given instance we may be morally certain that the person was slain in hatred of the Faith. So was it certainly with the English martyrs under Elizabeth. The attitude of the English leaders and the spirit of the English non-Catholic populace prove that they slew in hatred of the Faith. It seems clear, however, from the foregoing facts, that this hatred of the Faith was motivated not only by religious considerations, but also by reasons that were national and political. In what percentage each motivation was blended who can ever tell? The motives of men are multiple and complex, and if the martyrs were slain in hatred of the Faith, which is true, this need not be the only motive barbarously driving on the persecution. Judging from the facts religion was not the only motive. Self preservation entered strongly: if Catholics should prevail, the government would be overthrown.

We possess in the quality and in the details of the Catholic opposition to the Elizabethan regime in England the explanation of much of the centuries-old, ineluctable prejudice and hatred against the papacy and against the name of Jesuit in England. During the period

⁸ Meyer, *op. cit.*, gives in the appendix, pp. 490f., the full text in the original Italian of nuncio Sega's letter to the papal secretary, dated Madrid, Nov. 14, 1580, and the reply dated Rome, Dec. 12, 1580. These copies are in the Public Record Office, Roman Transcripts 77 and 105 and were taken from the Archivio Vaticano, Nunziatura di Spagna 25, 27 and 30. In Rome when the historian asked to see the originals he was told they were not forthcoming.

⁹ Cf. *The Month*, "The Politics of the English Catholics During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," C (July 1902), p. 77. Father Pollen's investigations were published intermittently in *The Month* during the early years of this century.

¹⁰ Cf. Sommervogel, VI, 301 ¹¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 303

¹² Sommervogel requires twenty-six columns to list the works of Persons which here include fifty-five items.

¹³ Cf. Vol. XX (May, 1942), p. 80

itself the "Roman thunderbolt kindled a blaze of loyalty towards the throne and its occupant." Political pamphlets broke out into prayers for the protection of the queen and destruction of her enemies. "Popular writers never wearied of making merry over the similarity of bull and *bull* in Latin. . . . Nor was there any lack of ribaldry. No figure of speech was too coarse to serve as an insult, no mud too dirty to throw at the Catholic Church. Obscenity and quotations from scripture were mingled in a loathsome compound."¹⁴ And this spirit pervaded the centuries. Professor Arnold Meyer of the University of Rostock, who writes with justice and with singular detachment, has put it thus: "No event in English history, not even the Gunpowder Plot, produced so deep and enduring an effect on England's attitude to the Catholic Church as the bull of Pius V. Englishmen never forgot their queen's excommunication. Whenever in later ages men's minds were stirred up against the Roman Church, the remembrance of 1570 was enough to justify their implacable hatred. . . . The story of the excommunication, and of the pope who freed men from their oaths and subjects from their allegiance, was a weapon that kept its edge for centuries and effectively put a stop to every thought of toleration for the papists."¹⁵

The documents and the facts of history when considered dispassionately, justly and without partisan feeling enable the historian to understand the past and to interpret the present; a right judicial-mindedness applied to the interpretation of history is able to discover much of truth.

¹⁴ Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 84f

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85

Papal Embassy to Ireland

(Continued from Page Ten)

existing that could punish crime. The only solution was to have a king, but this was impossible, as every prince would want to be king.

Most of the religious houses of the country were destroyed. The few that remained had fallen as prizes to the princes. The poor monks, afraid they would be ejected, were preparing to go into hiding or into exile and asked the nuncios to speak with the superiors of their orders in Scotland to receive them there, for if they knew they would be received in that country they would set out immediately.

Bishops who had been consecrated in Rome were forced on arriving in Ireland to flee or to go into hiding till the death of the king. If they were caught, they were ordered to burn the apostolic letters in the presence of the king's deputy and to ask to be reconsecrated.

Salmeron writes that if the nuncios had stayed any length of time in Ireland they would have had to remain in the forests or in hiding places, since during their short stay they had to be continually on the go from one place to another. Actually, some English merchants were anxious to have them delivered into their hands promising as a bribe some casks of wine and threatening to maltreat them when they should have them in their possession.

Amidst all these trials they found consolation in the fact that some good, devout people went to confession

and communion to gain the plenary indulgence, which the nuncios in accordance with their special powers were able to grant them. They were also able to give necessary dispensations. The few alms that was received on these occasions they gave away in public to repair churches, to assist widows, to provide young girls with dowries, and to help in the furtherance of other pious works. This example of disinterestedness edified young and old alike and many of the poor were deeply sorry to see them leave the country.

The Return Journey

Seeing, then, that nothing could be done and acting in accordance with directions they had received before they came to the country they returned to Scotland to the great joy and surprise of some who had never thought to see them again alive.²⁷

They remained in Scotland for a while doing apostolic work but were greatly hindered by many princes and nobles who had apostatized. They therefore left the country and landing in Dieppe came to Paris, where they received a brief appointing them nuncios apostolic in Scotland. They thought, however, that first of all it would be wise to inform the Holy Father about the state of religion in that country before they undertook the duties of an embassy there and having received an answer from Rome that they should return to Italy they set out leaving Zapata in Paris to continue his studies.²⁸

They travelled on foot. Poorly dressed and travel-stained they were considered rather suspicious characters as they entered Lyons. As war was then raging between France and Spain and as one of the travellers was obviously a Spaniard, they were thrown into prison as spies. However, they were rescued through the good offices of Cardinals Tournon and Gaddi, who chanced to be in the city at the time and who recognized them. They were set free and being given horses and provisions for their journey proceeded on their way home to Rome.²⁹

Results of the Mission

What was the value of this embassy in helping to keep Ireland faithful to its ancient religion? Wernz-Schmitt³⁰ would seem to be altogether too certain of its success. There appeared to be actually no success but only failure. Yet Bagwell³¹ calls it only an apparent failure. Bellesheim³² holds the same opinion and states that in the course of time the mission was to bear much fruit. Orlandini,³³ who would seem to have been in about the best position for making a fairly reliable estimate, confesses that the mission did not succeed. He

²⁷ The facts of the last six paragraphs are found in *E.S.*, I, 10-13; *E.B.*, 25-30. For an estimate of the correctness of the nuncios' report see James MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church from the Renaissance to the French Revolution* (2nd ed., 2 v., St. Louis, 1917), II, 282, 283

²⁸ Polanco, *Chron. Soc. Jesu*, I, 99

²⁹ *Ibid.*; Hogan, *op. cit.*, 8; *E.S.*, I, 581

³⁰ "Reversi instituta religiosa curant erigenda," *Synopsis Historiae Societatis Jesu* (Ratisbonne, 1914), col. 16

³¹ *Ireland under the Tudors*, I, 309, cited by Ronan, *op. cit.*, 292

³² *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Irland von der Einführung des Christentums bis auf die Gegenwart* (Mainz, 1890), II, 82, cited by Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, XII, 101

³³ *Op. cit.*, 89. Orlandini was born 1554, entered the Society of Jesus 1572, died 1606. He was, then, not so far removed from the time of the Irish mission and probably knew by oral tradition the views of the early fathers on its success or failure.

finds some consolation in considering the expedition as a proof of the obedience of the two Jesuits to the Holy See but makes no mention of any subsequent happy results. Hogan³⁴ makes his own the views and even the words of Orlandini. Brodrick³⁵ believes that the mission "had no results except to reveal the inexhaustible patience of St. Ignatius." Certainly, the mission failed

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, 8

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, 103

in one of the chief objectives, namely, to establish peace and union among the Irish chieftains, but the very fact of papal nuncios being sent to Ireland was a reminder to the Irish people that the Pope was still interested in their welfare and wished to aid them. This must have helped to some extent at least to strengthen them in their allegiance to the See of Peter. And certainly that was something worthwhile.

Recent Books in Review

Napoleon's Invasion of Russia—1812, by Eugene Tarlé. New York. Oxford University Press. 1942. pp. 422. \$3.50

This is without doubt the most brilliantly written chapter on Napoleon's Russian campaign that has appeared in recent years. For the most part it is based on a wealth of unpublished contemporaneous documents preserved in various libraries of the U.S.S.R. Frequent excerpts from numerous private diaries and authentic eyewitness accounts lend an air of unexpected realism to the narrative.

Tarlé, a recognized authority on the economic history of the Napoleonic regime, sees the campaign of 1812 as the inevitable struggle to which Napoleon's stubborn commercial policy drove him. As long as any country of Europe remained open to English merchandise, the Continental Blockade would necessarily fail. Only by the effective closing of Russian ports could England be brought to terms; but to accomplish that, Russia herself would first have to be conquered.

The common explanation that winter caused the disasters of the French invasion is too simple to be adequate. Tarlé goes to considerable pains to show that it was not winter frosts nor the burning of Moscow nor the vast expanses of Russia that defeated the French army, but the pangs of hunger and the indomitable fighting spirit of the Russian people. His two chapters on the role of the Russian peasants and their system of guerrilla warfare are easily the best sections of the volume.

The book is forcibly, masterly written, with all the dash and decisiveness of campaigning forces. The action is not infrequently intensely dramatic. But together with the felicity of style there are certain inadequacies of presentation. The author seems to be more interested in producing a series of vivid impressions than in recounting history. The facts are there it is true, but their significance may easily be lost sight of amid the crash of guns and the distant thunder of hoofs. Especially unfortunate is the fact that no maps have been included to help clarify the text. Without these it is practically impossible to follow the advance of the invasion. The reader is left to shift for himself as best he can. As a result he may readily miss the full import of certain movements which are essential to a suitable understanding of the situation. The two inside-cover plans of the invasion and retreat are insufficiently detailed and too detached from the text to be of much practical value in this respect. In spite of these deficiencies, however, the intrinsic merits of the work entitle it to a high place in Napoleonic historiography. It deserves to be read by every student of Napoleonic literature. E. H. KORTH

Zones of International Friction: The Great Lakes Frontier, Canada, The West Indies, India, 1748-1754, by Lawrence Henry Gipson. New York. Knopf. 1942. pp. xlviii + 352 + lix. \$5.00

This, the fifth volume in Mr. Gipson's series, *The British Empire before the American Revolution* is a well documented study of a nodal point in the history of the British Empire. The years from Aix la Chapelle in 1748 to the outbreak of hostilities on the North American frontier in 1754 were heavy with destiny for Great Britain and France. Mr. Gipson gives us a detailed description of conditions during this critical period in the several regions where British and French ambitions rubbed each other raw, on the Great Lakes, in Acadia, in the rich sugar islands of the Caribbean and along the hot Coromandel coast of India.

The prolonged efforts to reach a peaceful solution made by

Messrs. Mildmay and Shirley on the part of the British government and the Comte de la Galissoniere and M. de Silhouette on the part of the French are of considerable interest to us of today who have witnessed so many efforts to do away with war. The critical question was: Could Britain and France expand their empires side by side, respecting each other's rights? The answer unfortunately was in the negative, and the appeal to the sword gave Britain the decision after a war which reached almost global dimensions. The prolonged conversations in search of peace remain nevertheless an interesting attempt to solve international difficulties in a more Christian and civilized way than by war.

The section dealing with the beginnings of Britain's Indian Empire should be instructive to those who naively regard Great Britain as a bully who deliberately overthrew a Hindu monarchy to grind yet another people under the yoke. The truth of the matter is that India was a hodgepodge of principalities under the increasingly shadowy influence of the Mogul raj at Delhi, and that England's interests in India were for a long time commercial rather than political. Indeed political activity on the part of the India Company officials was often frowned upon by the home authorities.

The format of the book is excellent; the print is large and clear, very easy on the eyes. Unfortunately the same can not be said of the maps which are of considerable historical interest. They should certainly have been supplemented by modern maps less punishing to the eyes.

Mr. Gipson's work, though fair, is slanted from a British point of view, but after all this is not surprising in one who has been a Rhodes scholar. JOSEPH S. BRUSHER

Economic History of Europe 1760-1939, by Ernest L. Bogart. New York. Longmans, Green and Co. 1942. pp. xiii + 734. \$4.50

Writing in an easy style and preserving a large measure of logical consistency throughout, the author has achieved a successful presentation of the multiple aspects of the intense period of development that is the Industrial Revolution in a comparatively brief volume. Both the brevity and excellent continuity of thought that characterize this book may be attributed in large measure to the fact that it is the work of a single author, since group authorship has resulted in the excessively lengthy and incohesive textbooks on economic history that have appeared in recent years. Full treatment is given to significant trends in population, resources development, technical advances in agriculture and industry, and commercial changes; but the most excellent parts are those concerned with the rise and perfection of banking and credit institutions, where the role of these elements is pointed out in its relation to other sections of the world economy. This last-named merit is one that has not received its proper attention in most of the standard texts.

In a book of this kind, covering, as it does, a period of unparalleled change and development, there will always be room for controversy over the interpretation of the primary data. However, there is ample presentation of all pertinent statistics, and the graphs and tables are aptly placed in the text, so that the student is given sufficient access to the facts for a fair appraisal of the author's arguments. Lengthy and well chosen bibliographies, both particular and general, more than make up for any lack of completeness in the textual treatment, and these should prove useful for the teacher in the matter of reading assignments. The author omits mention or proper emphasis of many important facts, such as the re-

arrangement of the British steel industry in the eighteenth century, the work of the International Labor Office, and the economic bureaus of the League of Nations, and these may well be forgiven in a general texts. However, it would seem that a more thorough introduction than is given is called for in a text of this kind, even though such an introduction would add somewhat to the length of the book. It is especially important that the student of industrial history should be aware that the period from 1750 to the present is the crest of a movement which, according to Nef and other authorities, had its beginnings as far back as the ninth century. The growth of English dominance in the economic sphere receives its due measure of attention, but the period of decline is presented in a manner that is excessively devoid of logical interpretation. In the hands of a capable teacher the book's defects can be entirely overcome, however, for in the main this is a very satisfactory text.

JAMES F. HANLEY

A History of the Jews in England, by Cecil Roth. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1942. pp. xii + 306. \$5.00

Just as there is a Whig tradition in the writing of English history so the writers of Anglo-Jewish history have faithfully followed the work of D'Blossiers Tovey, an eighteenth century historian, flaws in whose work have been corrected by modern scientific research. The author of this book has presented us with a more authoritative account of Anglo-Jewry from the earliest times to the Emancipation of 1858-9. It is a book packed tight with information giving, as the author says, "the first account of an illustrious group of crypto-Jewish physicians under Henry VIII" and a "completely new account of the premature attempt by Gentile enthusiasts to secure the recall of the Jews to England in 1648". It is interestingly written, but it is disappointing in that it stops short of a very interesting period in Anglo-Jewish development. Nowhere else in the world perhaps are Jews accepted on such terms of equality as they are in England; nowhere have Jews contributed so much as they have in England in the last thirty years. This fault, however, the author can easily remedy with a second volume. More serious is the author's failure to estimate the contributions of Jewish thinkers to mediaeval thought. The philosophers are mentioned but their ideas are neglected: it is surely worthwhile to say more of Abraham ibn Ezra, for instance, than that he "had at least a glimmer of the principles of Higher Criticism" and that he wrote his *Jesod Morah* in London. Similarly more might have been done with the liturgical poetry of Yom-Tob of Joigny. For an authoritative account, however, of the social side of Anglo-Jewish history this is a work that cannot be neglected.

HERBERT H. COULSON

The Destiny of Western Man, by W. T. Stace. New York. Reynal & Hitchcock. 1942. pp. x + 322. \$3.00

Do we prefer democracy to totalitarianism simply because it is our tradition, or does democracy have a rational justification as a superior way of life? This is the problem which the Princeton professor proposes in a study which is as timely as it is interesting and challenging.

With keen psychological (rather than metaphysical) and historical insight he traces the philosophical components of these two opposing ways of life which are now meeting on the battle-grounds of the world. He finds the sources of western democracy in the mutual complementary Greek and Palestinian-Christian traditions. From the Greek primacy of reason issued forth the ethical ideal of moderation. From what he calls the Christian primacy of sympathy (not taken in any cheap, sentimental sense) we have the ideal of selflessness. These ethical ideals, supplementing one another gives us as the cornerstone of our civilization the concept of the infinite value of the individual, which not only looks inward but also respects that same value in everyone else. On such a foundation are built the democratic principles of equality, individualism, and liberty. The irrational philosophy of Nazism is shown to be the outgrowth of the anti-rationalism of modern science, the voluntarism of Schopenhauer, and the will to power of Nietzsche.

There is so much which is good in this study that one feels reluctant to criticize the inadequacies of its analysis of our Christian civilization. But they are there. It seems that the whole idea of the supernatural is not appreciated. If it were, the correct enough concept of Christian sympathy would have been found to have deeper roots in a Christian charity which is founded on the solidarity of all men in and with Christ.

Original sin would have given the author the solution to what he terms the conflicting concepts of imposition morality of Christianity and the immanent morality of the Greeks. Historically he should have found the reconciliation of the two sources of morality in the ethics of Aquinas, which became the ethical traditions of Western man. We applaud the statement: "Different types of ethical ideal are always based in the end upon different theories about human nature." Equally sound is the conclusion: "The differences between the principles of the good life which apply to one animal and those which apply to another depend upon differences in the nature of the animals." Yet, one at least wonders whether the moral ideals which are rightly built upon the adequate concept of man as man are not vitiated by premises which suppose that the human mind has evolved from the animal mind and that morality as we know it has its seeds in the principles of the good life which existed for prehuman ancestors.

Professor Stace has a good thesis. He presents and develops it well. His premises are sound. All which takes from the strength of his conclusion is his own inadequate, sometimes incorrect, understanding of those same premises.

F. J. O'REILLY.

Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800, by Eugene Perry Link. New York. Columbia University Press. 1942. pp. xiv + 258. \$2.75.

Contrary to general impressions, the last decade of the eighteenth century, was a period of political activity which did more to shape the American democratic philosophy and methodology than it has been accredited with. As a matter of fact, too frequently, this activity has been looked upon askance, as though it were the opposition of a few malcontents to the perfect and harmonious functionings of the new government. Mr. Link in his monograph, brings to light the influence of the Revolution committees-of-correspondence, upon English Democratic Societies, and the reciprocal influence of English and French philosophy and popular associations upon the popular societies which sprang up along the English seaboard.

Many elements combined to unite in these forty-one societies which appeared between 1793 and 1800, men of diverse economic and social and occupational classes: the trade war with England and a general fear of English domination; taxation, especially of the citizens farther west; the movement for a strongly centralized government; sympathy with the Revolution in France and the influence of Genet. In fine, the soul of the movement was the Philosophy of the Enlightenment, and as a consequence, the movement saw that the successful perpetuation of democratic rule was to be based upon the *sine qua non* condition of popular education. Hence directly and indirectly, it promoted the foundation and fostered the growth of schools. The spirit found expression in an anti-slavery position, and in a new "humanitarian" attitude toward crime and other social problems.

The author's analysis of the origins, activities, influences and underlying philosophy of the popular societies, is painstaking, accurate and based upon a considerable amount of research, much of which is original and uncovers hitherto untouched source material. The text is well footnoted, and an excellent and extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources is appended.

For the most part, the monograph is objective, but occasionally, the author expresses as *the* true democratic philosophy, his own convictions, which like those of the members of these early groups is reactionary to the baneful Calvinistic doctrine of man's innate depraved nature, and to the church control of education and the theocratic influence in government. Reacting to these, Mr. Link generalizes that "*secular*, democratic education is an inseparable partner of democracy." Like Thomas Paine's philosophy, such a democracy is founded upon a very uncertain foundation, for the *Rights of Man*, are meaningless and susceptible to change and even destruction, without a true understanding of man's dignity and nature.

The vicious and malicious campaign of Federalist press and of industrial employers against the societies, succeeded in time to discredit the groups in the public eye and finally to all purposes, gave them the death blow; but they had served their purpose well and may still serve to preserve the blessing of a government for and by the people, by providing an inspiration to Americans of today who likewise are faced with as great a threat from within as by the attack from without which they are now repulsing.

There is a definite place for this work which critically evaluates a period, hitherto taken too much for granted.

JOSEPH P. FLANNER

The Jesuits in History, by Martin P. Harney, S.J. New York. America Press. 1941. pp. xvi + 513. \$4.00

Twisting Terence it may be said that the Jesuits have been strangers to nothing pertaining to the greater glory of God. Hence where even moderate success would be commended, Father Harney has been eminently successful in telescoping within four hundred odd pages the four century history of the society. Long study and teaching experience have enabled him to catch the swing of the story harmonizing the single dominating ideal with the feverish activity, presenting the great movements without neglecting the minor events. Thus he has sketched a unified and integrated picture subordinating the incidental to the essential, the secondary to the substantial, with the result that this is probably the finest single volume history of the Society of Jesus in English.

Apart from a few lapses into mere enumeration and a certain chopiness due to the immense amount of data concentrated within its pages, the style of the work is pleasant and very readable. Ample proof of its thorough scholarship is provided in its thirty-five pages of index, its copious references to primary sources, and an excellent selected bibliography. No important aspect of the Jesuit story is omitted: the hoary objections, the initial trials and final triumphs, the laudations and the slanders, the panagyrics and the expulsions, the external battles and the family squabbles, the sweat and the tears and the joy of four centuries are vividly recounted with a felicitous insight into their real explanations. J. CRIBBIN.

The Saints of Ireland, by Hugh de Blacam. Milwaukee. Bruce. 1942. pp. vii + 218. \$2.50

In this work the author takes up the thread of Irish sainthood where he left it at the close of his life of Saint Patrick. He weaves the remarkable lives of Saint Brigid, the Abbess of Kildaire, and Saint Columille, the king-making Abbot of Iona, upon the background of early post-Patrician Ireland. Hugh de Blacam has a marvellous hold upon early Irish historical background and upon the character and spirit of the Irish people; he makes the fifth and sixth century in an Ireland not too different from the Ireland of today live before our eyes. He dispels as much as possible myths and fanciful tales connected with the early saints. In fact, he might conceivably shock some people with the ease with which he dismisses the less firmly established traditions of Ireland; he interprets many fanciful and improbable circumstances in a more natural light. The heroic, the human and sometimes amusing incidents brought forward in the narration show that the author has really grasped and interpreted in his own way the true spirit of sainthood, Irish sainthood in particular. JOSEPH D. SHEEHAN.

The Background of Our War, lectures prepared by the Orientation Course—War Department—Bureau of Public Relations. New York. Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 1942. pp. xiv + 279.

"Truth is the first casualty of war" according to Pius XII. Yet this rapid survey of the background of our war is remarkably free from bias and untruth. Of course, any work attempting to cover so much ground in so few pages falls into the fault of summing up in broad statements and of laying total blame where perhaps only partial blame is due. Anyone, however, who wishes to find in one book a sufficiently detailed yet interesting account of the German campaigns of the last two and a half years, of the Battle of Britain, of the Battle of the Atlantic, of Japan's conquests in China and elsewhere, and of the U. S. entry into the war, would not be disappointed in this book. The numerous and detailed maps of battle plans and strategy are one of its most outstanding features.

There is one point of view expressed which this reviewer finds somewhat annoying,—namely, the attitude that Spanish democracy of the Loyalist variety is comparable to what we understand by the word "democracy." Unfortunately for the work in question, this view smacks more of the public press than of a scholarly knowledge of facts. J. F. SCHENK.

The Middle Ages, 395-1500, by J. R. Strayer and D. C. Munro. New York. D. Appleton-Century Co. 1942. pp. ix + 568. \$4.00

Though many would cast aside the history of the Middle Ages as unimportant, a great number of competent historians have of recent years been devoting more time and energies

to a thorough study of the period and its influences upon present events. They find many things that make such a study not a useless and impractical task but stimulating, provocative for a better knowledge and understanding of present world conditions.

Professor Strayer has tried to incorporate in a text book the history of eleven hundred years so as to give a student a general knowledge of the period in one term. This, of course, necessitates condensations and excisions; may not do full justice to periods, but in view of his general purpose he has done a commendable task. The volume will be helpful for a course in Medieval history, for brief references, and in some ways for its suggested reading list and collection of maps of the period. The ecclesiastical map of Europe in 1300, for example, is a very useful addition to such a text.

In reading through *The Middle Ages*, one impression given is something of a *ne quid nimis* attitude (more impartial than objectivity) with reference to almost every point. Like many texts it would leave a very colorless impression of the student unless that student were to do much outside reading. The object is general knowledge but general knowledge could and should be enlivened for the student with a little *esprit*, without any detriment to purpose or to proper ideas on the part of those in front of the teacher's platform. J. J. CAMPBELL.

Uncle Sam's Stepchildren, The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887, by Loring Benson Priest. New Brunswick. Rutgers' University Press. 1942. pp. x + 310. \$3.75

Uncle Sam's stepchildren are the American Indians, whose number, this author tells us, in his first line, never passed the one million mark. He is correct, but at the date of his study, they were scarcely one-third of that figure. In other words, the people this volume and so many thousand other volumes treat of, could all fit easily into any second class American city.

In his study of our government's treatment of the stepchildren through twenty-two important years, Dr. Priest has gone through a mountain of literature with a generous intent and brought out a contribution to knowledge of an encyclopedic character. Any future student of this subject during the years here treated will find an invaluable bibliography in the fifty pages of "Notes," as well as an honest and interesting treatment of the Indian question throughout the entire text.

In not a few details the Catholic reader will be hurt at crudities of expression and a general misunderstanding of Catholic subjects, but the third chapter of the work is so thorough a justification of Catholic position held during this period, that the book becomes more valuable than if its pages came from a Catholic source. LAWRENCE KENNY.

The Man Who Sold Louisiana, by E. Wilson Lyon. Norman. University of Oklahoma Press. 1942. pp. xix + 240. \$2.75

Barbé-Marbois is one of those interesting characters about whom the world hears far too little. His biography is the biography of a moderate in a swiftly changing world. The son of a merchant, Marbois ended up by becoming a peer of France. Living in an era of extreme social and political unrest, he somehow never lost his balance. He lived in a time when diplomacy was a dangerous career for any man, and as Dr. Lyon points out, "He should not be blamed too severely, therefore, for those occasions on which he appeared more adaptable than courageous. He would have liked to see in his own country the tolerant, liberal spirit he found in America, but he lacked the ardor and self-sacrifice of a crusader."

For over sixty years, from 1768 to 1834, Marbois served France in various diplomatic and administrative capacities. Shrewd, tactful, a hard bargainer, a diplomat of no mean abilities, an administrator who scorned corruption, he readily found favor with conservatives and reactionaries alike. A study of his career as minister of the public treasury under Napoleon I might throw much valuable light on the fiscal philosophy of the First Council.

On this side of the Atlantic Marbois' name is comparatively unknown. American historians will remember him chiefly as the man who negotiated the sale of Louisiana to the United States for Napoleon in 1803. That was the high light of his career, but perhaps his most notable achievement, at least as far as Franco-American relations are concerned, was his inauguration of the first regular European consular offices in the United States.

The book is well written, familiar, pleasant, honest. A product of considerable scholarly research, it has the added distinction of being the first full-length portrait of Marbois to appear in any language. It is not essential to the understanding of any particular phase of history, but it does help to lend color and warmth and vitality to the events of the past without which a correct understanding of history is impossible. E. H. KORTH.

World Order in Historical Perspective, by Hans Kohn.
Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1942. pp.
xvii + 352. \$3.00

This volume presents an analysis, largely historical, of several concepts—among them democracy, National Socialism, nationalism and imperialism—which the author deems essential to an understanding of the present world crisis. There is an unfortunate tendency to identify eighteenth century French "liberalism" with the principles of American democracy. Prescinding from the question of any historical influence of the former upon the latter, if the author had realized that the Nietzscheanism and totalitarianism which the author deplores, and not the dignity and equality of man, which he applauds, is the strictly logical outcome of "liberalistic" principles, his ultimate plea for an absolute standard of law would have suffered from much less confusion of thought and expression. The author's own very idealistic liberalism makes for numerous similar, though often minor, confusions; his interpretation of the Spanish Revolution, and his apparent approbation of subjectivistic religion should be particularly noted.

There is much of interest, however, in his description of the events of latter years: the failure of isolationism, the lack of cooperation among the democratic nations, Hitler's consequent growth in power, and Japan's outspoken imperialistic ambitions. It is here that a historical perspective should furnish something of value in the reconstruction of world order, and that Professor Kohn's book may be of value to those interested in that problem. J. McKenna.

International Labor Convention, by Conley Hall Dillon.
Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press.
1942. pp. xii + 272. \$3.00

It is a commonplace to say that adjustments of the most radical nature will have to be made at the close of the present world conflict. In perhaps no field is the problem going to be more acute than in that of labor. Not only does there exist today such a diversion of man-power as has never before been witnessed in the history of civilization, but the outlook of the laboring class, its understanding of its rights, and the insistence it is prepared and determined to exercise in the procuring of those rights will give rise to the most critical and imperative problem in all the post-war agenda.

A similar, but less pressing, need was experienced at the close of the last war. To meet that emergency definite measures were adopted (Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles and the labor sections of corresponding treaties), all of which took concrete form in the establishment of the International Labor Organization at Geneva, an institution endeavoring to work in harmony with, yet distinct from the League of Nations. One who has had the opportunity of visiting the magnificent office building of the Bureau International du Travail in the Swiss capital, of glancing through the roster of resident delegates, of being somewhat acquainted with the plans and aspirations of that body, feels that adequate machinery has been set up to cope with a problem even of the first magnitude.

Professor Dillon's exhaustive research, however, in the actual work of the organization—the difficulties it has encountered, the clear and far-reaching thought, coupled with painstaking labor, that its work requires—brings home to one the scarcely realized complexity of the work the Bureau has set before itself. Seemingly insurmountable barriers have again and again blocked the path of the Bureau's progress; but in the very confronting of these obstacles the strength and the weakness of the organization and of the methods pursued have been made apparent. The experience and knowledge gathered in the actual framing of labor conventions, in the technique of revision, (for "a dynamic conception of international labor standards seems particularly indispensable in view of frequent economic, technological, and political changes"), and in the necessity of interpretation, both international and national, should prove invaluable for future work.

The same opinion is voiced by Mr. John G. Winant, former president of the Bureau, who contributed the book's foreword:

"Although some phases of the subject are controversial and although there may be differences of opinion concerning some of Professor Dillon's conclusions, his able and scholarly approach to the problem will be of interest and assistance to students of labor legislation, international relations and law. It will be a practical tool for all those concerned with these subjects in planning for reconstruction."

Mr. Dillon's carefully documented book is difficult to read, but for those interested in the field, and those especially to whom the task of reconstruction will be entrusted, it is a most constructive contribution. The final chapter, entitled "Conclusion," gives the book a satisfying completeness.

P. J. HOLLORAN.

A Wavering Friendship: Russia and Austria, 1876-1878,
by George Hoover Rupp. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1941. pp. xiv + 599. \$5.00

This work represents a definite contribution to our knowledge of the Near East crisis of the 1870's. It tells of the clash which took place between Russia and Austria due to different policies concerning the Balkans. Andrassy, a Hungarian, was largely responsible for Austria's foreign policy. Committed as he was to the preservation of a balance between the two main elements of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, he looked askance at any movement which would tend to upset this rather precarious equilibrium. Such a threat he saw in Pan-Slavism, as Russia conceived it. This countering of foreign policies resulted in a weakening of the bond which had united these two members of the *Dreikaiserbund*.

Russia's case is well told. A liberal use of Russian documents, little used hitherto, sets out clearly the moderate policies of Gorchakov as well as the Pan-Slavism of Ignatyev. Much light is had on this from the Memoirs of Ignatyev in the Russkaya Starina, and also from the Krasny Arkhiv.

The style is rather diffuse. A few maps should have been included in a book which relies so much on geography for an understanding of the setting. An excellent bibliography and an abundance of information make this a valuable book.

WILLIAM J. KOCH.

Handbook of Hispanic Source Materials and Research Organizations in the United States, edited by Ronald Hilton. Toronto. The University of Toronto Press. 1942. pp. 441. \$5.00

Besides being an eminently helpful tool this *Handbook* is not without its interesting side. The amount of information which Professor Hilton has diligently gathered is amazing, and we natives should be truly grateful to our English visitor for the job which he has done. It is the old story of the homefolks waiting for out-of-town company before becoming acquainted with their city or region. This time, however, it was the "company" who did the work, while we sat at home.

As Commonwealth Fellow at the University of California Professor Hilton had occasion to visit a number of the libraries and documentary depositories in the United States. Out of these visits grew the idea of contacting the librarians and curators throughout the country and of requesting of them a brief statement of the nature and extent of their Hispanic source materials. These statements, describing collections in twenty-three states and the District of Columbia, are gathered in this volume. Many a student, research scholar, and reference librarian will be deeply grateful to the editor for his patience. Libraries where there is a research call on Latin American topics should have this book on their reference shelves.

JOHN F. BANNON

The Old South, the Founding of American Civilization,
by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. pp. xiv + 352. \$3.50

The desire of the author in this volume has been to dispel some of the mystery concerning the South, and to make some contribution to facts connected with the cultural history of that portion of America. This he has undoubtedly done, in an interesting way that will appeal to the general reader. Architecture has been emphasized because it so admirably illustrates the forces which created our civilization. This emphasis brings out many interesting notes that will please a reader who is interested in such phases of cultural history. The numerous illustrations accompanying descriptions of typical American architecture add much to such descriptions.

In stressing such a subject, Professor Wertenbaker gives us a new angle that lends interest to his volume. The states which he emphasizes, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, were rich in the various types of architecture with which we associate the old South, and through his development somewhat of a new touch is added to the history of that part of our country.

However, if one is looking for a complete history of the old South, the book is not the one to choose, as Professor Wertenbaker emphasizes in the preface: "Political History, Church History, the plantation system, slavery have been purposely neglected because historians have already devoted so much attention to them." It is another volume that will help to do away with lingering prejudice and enable the general reader to become more acquainted with a beautiful and historical region of our country.

J. J. CAMPBELL.

March Into Tomorrow, by John J. Considine, M.M. New York. The Field Afar Press. 1942. \$2.00

More from the Maryknoll missionaries. Appreciative of trends in modern journalism and publicity, Father Considine has brought out another book about the missions of the Far East. This one is made up largely of pictures. They are all excellent, many of them deserving of prizes for their beauty. Few camera-artists will surpass the "Angelus" picture on page thirty-five. Father Considine is to be congratulated and thanked for this latest and most interesting of Maryknoll's contributions to mission literature. *March into Tomorrow* should prove a very popular book.

G. COURTRIGHT.

Hispanic American Essays, edited by A. Curtis Wilgus. Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press. 1942. pp. 391. \$5.00

Originally planned as a volume to commemorate James Alexander Robertson's twenty years as editor of *The Hispanic American Review*, due to Dr. Robertson's death last March it now appears as "A Memorial." And, as such, it is a fitting and worthy tribute to a scholar who for half a century was so intimately connected with the field of Hispanic American studies. Eighteen fellow scholars and friends have contributed essays to this volume—the list including many of the foremost Hispanic American historians of this country.

To comment on each of the studies is impossible in the compass of this short notice. Rather, a short word concerning the contents of the volume! The two introductory essays are devoted to a sketch of Dr. Robertson's life and to a bibliography of his scholarly production. Nine of the essays cover phases of the colonial period, and the remaining nine deal with personalities, problems, or aspects of the Independent Era. Several of these studies are noteworthy for their fine synthesis of vast subjects, for example, Isaac Joslin Cox's "Florida, Frontier Outpost of New Spain," and Chester Lloyd Jones' "Indian Labor in Guatemala." Arthur Scott Aiton has thrown some very interesting light on relations of the two Bourbon courts in the seventeen-seventies in his "Spain and the Family Compact, 1770-1773." Francis Borgia Steck's "Early Mexican Literature" is enlightening. The same should be noted of Madeline W. Nichols' "Argentine Colonial Economy." But there is little reason to signal out these above the rest, save in the fact that they treated subjects which were of particular interest to this reviewer.

The work is well edited and adequately indexed. It is a tribute to a great scholar and a tribute which Hispanic American students will be selfishly glad was rendered, for they are in the end the great gainers by this series of studies.

JOHN F. BANNON.

Desert Saints, by Nels Anderson. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1942. pp. xx + 459. \$4.00

If one desires to find out about something, usually he finds that the best place to go is to someone who knows the subject. Mr. Anderson joined the Mormon Church in 1909 and mentions that he has retained a nominal affiliation with it. Thus we may be sure that he knows something about the history of the Latter-Day Saints that others would not know. In *Desert Saints* he seeks to give a short history of the Mormons, particularly in Utah. The countless documents quoted throughout the volume show that much of the material is first-hand information.

The book would be dull for the ordinary general reader, and perhaps even for the historian in parts, because of the laboring of subjects and repetition of examples to illustrate passages. Polygamy, for example, although Mr. Anderson states

that it is only one of Mormonism's unique characteristics, is given an overwhelming amount of space, with countless examples that would probably better have been omitted for several reasons.

In sketching the beginnings of Mormonism, the author gives a nice synopsis, but we would like to know why the occasions, reasons, and whole story for that matter, connected with the death of Joseph Smith are practically passed over or but summarily treated, while the rest of his life receives proper emphasis.

The treatment of the economic system of the Latter-Day Saints is very clear, and its intention, influence, and control give a good picture that explains much.

J. J. CAMPBELL.

Deadline, by Pierre Lazareff. New York. Random House. 1942. pp. viii + 369. \$3.00

One of the most amazing episodes of the second world war is the utter collapse of the French nation. Never perhaps has France counted for less in history than she does today as stunned and cowed she rests submissively at the feet of her conqueror. So great a catastrophe provoked intense curiosity, and scarcely had the swastika flag gone in victorious parade under the Arc de Triomphe than a flood of books on the fall of France started to pour from the presses. Among the most interesting of these is *Deadline* by Pierre Lazareff who was editor of the great French paper, *Paris Soir*.

In his easy journalistic fashion M. Lazareff gives us an eye-witness account of the fall of France. The book does not attempt to probe the underlying causes which led to France's destruction, but it does give a vivid account of the symptoms and process of dissolution. From its pages comes a stern indictment of yesterday's France. Corruption in the government, pitiful fumbling in the war department, a miserably venal press, all appear in the anecdotes told with so much verve by M. Lazareff. In this story Petain suffers considerably as a stodgy old soldier who simply cannot grasp the fact that the tactics and weapons of Verdun are outdated. Indeed practically all the leaders of the last decade appear to little advantage. Even Paul Reynaud who seemed to be more far-sighted than his colleagues went to pieces at the critical moment.

It is difficult to evaluate a book of this type. We must accept the most startling stories on the author's word. Certainly M. Lazareff was in a position to know a great deal about the goings on in Paris. At least it is safe to say that *Deadline* is an interesting and moving account of a tense moment in history by a contemporary.

JOSEPH S. BRUSH

Music in Western Civilization, by Paul Henry Lang. New York. W. W. Norton & Company. pp. xvi + 1107. \$5.00

In spite of Babel, humanity, so to speak, has yet its common tongue, and music is one of its dialects. It is a dialect exceedingly hard to understand. Its many subtle idioms, that is, under the influence of the conflict in time which, as Mr. Lang says, makes history, are endlessly mutable. All men know the "syntax" of rhythm and a changing pitch. Few ever rise from this to speak with the accents of Palestrina, Beethoven, Debussy. And far fewer are they who in the capacity of a completely equipped and genuine critic can understand and interpret. Mr. Lang is such a critic. His book *Music in Western Civilization* shows the judgment of a mind sensitive to form in things, to cardinal values, the intrinsic worth in man. In a day when criticism is discouragingly superficial and subjective, such solid criticism as Mr. Lang offers is a bread to a beggar. In *Music in Western Civilization*, he has prepared a striking history of how the European has made music and how music has made the European. He has defined what may well be called "the unity of musical experience" in the West and illustrated it from very real evidence. And with wide sympathy and an historical insight equal to that of Hilaire Belloc, he has demonstrated the folly of those who have held "pre-Bach" music to be a mere preparation for the moderns. He has looked also into the neglected work of the middle ages, only so recently beginning to be understood, given it a fair trial and found it as music tolerably "pure." He has investigated the elaborate curiosities of the Baroque and rendered a new and interesting verdict. Even Wagner seems to find, at last, his proper place.

Music in Western Civilization is learned, yet devoid of any of the horrors of Wissenschaft. Eminently readable despite its one thousand odd pages, it affords much of the charm

of unstudied fire-side conversation. Its unassuming tone is a welcome release from the showy gabble that is much of contemporary criticism.

In a work composed on so grand a scale and involving such multitudes of cold facts, it is not strange that Mr. Lang, primarily concerned, of course, with the music, has here and there made curious statements as to the history. Regarding, for example, certain of his generalizations in the pages dealing with Gregory the Great, there is undeniably room for discussion, and here as elsewhere Mr. Lang would have done better to make some desirable distinctions. Likewise regrettable is the more than occasional redundancy of style which makes not only for verbosity but now and again for obscurity.

For all that, *Music in Western Civilization* is a very fine book, even a great book and belongs on the desk of every serious student of music. And certainly no student of history can afford to pass it over without giving much of it a very careful reading.

G. COURTRIGHT.

The China That Was, tr. Louis J. Gallagher, S.J. Milwaukee. Bruce. 1942. pp. xx + 99. \$2.25

To look for reader interest and documentary value in the same literary effort is to seek no ordinary quality, but a combination rich in both is the unexpected merit of Father Nicholas Trigault's introduction to the *Diary* of his famous companion, missionary priest and scientist, Matthew Ricci, S.J.

This record of Chinese life in the sixteenth century is the result of careful observation on the part of one who had lived in China almost thirty years, had traveled through its important provinces, and been intimate with the nobles, magistrates, and men of letters. He spoke the native language and devoted himself to the study of the customs, laws, and literature of the land. From such a vantage-ground we receive an account of the Chinese way of life seldom before or after thus appreciated by an occidental writer.

The book has historical and sociological value because it clearly presents the life and mentality of this almost unchanging people. Its power of fascination lie in its explanation of the East that is ever a mystery to us. The Empire, its produce, religions, arts, education, government, rites and

customs are clearly open before us. Many of these practices, we see, could profitably be absorbed into our American way of life; others are more or less indifferent; and from some we thank God we are free. In *The China That Was* we have Father Trigault's sympathetic appreciation of sixteenth century China to help us in our appreciation of the China of today.

FRANCIS L. BARAK.

The Knight of El Dorado, by Germán Arciniegas, translated by Mildred Adams. New York. The Viking Press. 1942. pp. 301. \$3.00

The tales of Spanish conquest in the New World have a strange fascination, and that of the exploits of Don Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, the conquistador of Nueva Granda, the present Colombia, is no exception. Less well known than Cortéz or Pizarro, Don Gonzalo was of much the same stamp as his more highly publicized confreres. He had the same dreams, the same daring spirit of adventure, the same remarkable hardihood in the face of difficulties. His story in some respects run more parallel to that of the conqueror of Mexico. He knew success and he also knew the heartbreak of serving a sovereign who did not always understand nor appreciate. He was no saint nor, again, was he a devil. He was a Spaniard of the sixteenth century, of that day when El Dorados beckoned beyond each mountain range, when strong men set out in quest, to be tested by the fire of disappointment. Through the maze of a moving and troubled career Don Gonzalo emerges as a character whom we would have liked to know — there is manliness, there is nobility, there is a virile Christianity, though often marred by human failings and excesses.

Senor Arciniegas has done an excellent job in bringing this less well known conquistador to life. That he has proved a thesis which runs through the book, namely that Don Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada was probably the type or inspiration for Cervantes' Don Quixote, we would not be willing to admit. However, this "intuition" does throw an interesting light on two interesting characters, one of the flesh and the other of the pen, and both deservedly immortals.

JOHN F. BANNON

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